FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-217
Wednesday
9 November 1988

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-217

CONTENTS

9 November 1988

ALBANIA

Carcani Appearance at Activities Noted 1
Superpower Navies in Mediterranean Deplored *[ZERI I POPULLIT 2 Nov]* 1
Sokrat Plaka Pays Visit to Austria 2
    Leaves Tirana 2
    Received by Waldheim 2
Trade Protocol With GDR Signed in Berlin 2
Trade Agreement Signed With Hungary 3
Government Delegation Departs for Cuba 3
Foreign Affairs Commission Meeting Held 3
Leaders' Public Appearances for 29 Oct-4 Nov 3

BULGARIA

Great October Anniversary Activities Continue 4
    USSR Gives Reception *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 8 Nov]* 4
    Leaders Attend Ceremony *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 8 Nov]* 4
USSR's Durasov Discusses Cooperation 4
    Meets With Atanasov 4
    Protocol Signed *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 5 Nov]* 4
Soviet Measures in Afghanistan Approved *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 6 Nov]* 5
Albanian Party Anniversary Marked *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 8 Nov]* 5
Indian Defense Minister 'Impressed' by Visit *[NARODNA ARMIYA 21 Oct]* 6
SRV Peasant Leader Pham Bai Interviewed *[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME 1 Nov]* 7
Yotov Receives Corrieri, Cuban Delegation *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 2 Nov]* 7
Trade Cooperation Protocol With Cambodia Signed 8
Trade Union Conference Conclusions Analyzed *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 26 Oct]* 8
BCP Member Dimitur Vasilev Dies 7 Nov 8
Action on Citizens' Letters to Press Reviewed *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 3 Nov]* 8

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Prague Comments on Bush Election Victory 10
Officials Attend Great October Festivities 10
    USSR Group Arrives *[RUDE PRAVO 7 Nov]* 10
    Guests Attend Rally *[RUDE PRAVO 8 Nov]* 10
Stepan-Led Delegation Visits USSR 10
    Leaves 30 Oct 10
    Partnership Established *[RUDE PRAVO 3 Nov]* 10
Jakes Receives USSR Academician Bogomolov 11
Johanes Comments on Budapest Pact Session *[Bratislava PRAVDA 31 Oct]* 11
Lenart Discusses Highlights of GDR Visit *[RUDE PRAVO 4 Nov]* 11
Press Release on Dos Santos Visit Issued *[RUDE PRAVO 2 Nov]* 12
Bilak Meets Angola's Mbinda, Signs Agreement *[RUDE PRAVO 1 Nov]* 13
Janik, Others Travel to Guinea-Bissau 13
    Received by Officials *[RUDE PRAVO 31 Oct]* 13
    Visit Concludes *[RUDE PRAVO 1 Nov]* 14
Significance of Expanded EEC Treaty Discussed *[MLADA FRONTA 2 Nov]* 14
Individual Travel to Poland Facilitated *[RUDE PRAVO 1 Nov]* 14
CPCZ Delegation Arrives in SFRY *[RUDE PRAVO 8 Nov]* 15
Zavadil, Delegation Travel to India 15
    Meet CP General Secretary *[RUDE PRAVO 28 Oct]* 15
    Group Departs Delhi 15

'Dignified Farewell' Urged for Old Cadres *[RUDE PRAVO 3 Nov]* 15
National Front Activities Detailed 15
  Condemns 28 Oct Disturbance *[RUDE PRAVO 3 Nov]* 15
  Dusek Reports Progress 16
  Jakes Meets With Central Committee 16
Jakes Attends Prague Bridge Opening 17
Central Committee Discusses Layoffs, Shortages 17
New Long-Term CPCZ Program Being Prepared *[RUDE PRAVO 3 Nov]* 17
Socialist Party Central Committee Meets 4 Nov 18
Party Work Committee in Czech SR Convenes *[RUDE PRAVO 1 Nov]* 18
Change in Approach Toward Emigres Called For *[ROLNICKE NOVINY 4 Oct]* 18
Products' Insufficient Competitiveness Viewed *[RUDE PRAVO 31 Oct]* 20
Criminal Records No Longer Required for Travel 20

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

50th Anniversary of Anti-Jewish Pogrom Marked 21
  Honecker Decorates Jewish Citizens 21
  Leaders at People's Chamber Session 21
  Honecker Addresses Ceremony 21
  Sindermann Recalls 1938 Events 23
  Commemorative Concert Held 26
  Honecker, Leaders Lay Wreaths 26
West Berlin Jewish Community Head Interviewed *[BERLINER ZEITUNG 5-6 Nov]* 26

HUNGARY

'Overwhelming' Bush Victory Reported 28
Correspondents View Bush Victory 28
MSZMP's Szuros Criticizes Romania *[Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG 8 Nov]* 29
Central Committee Outlines Domestic Situation *[NEPSZABADSAG 4 Nov]* 31

POLAND

Bush Election as U.S. President Commented Upon 36
  Bush Facing 'Hard Tests' *[Wojna]* 36
  No 'Radical Change' Expected *[Czak]* 36
Orzechowski Honors October Revolution in Speech 36
Hungarian Military Delegation Arrives *[MTI]* 41
Walesa Denies Resignation Threat Reports *[Hamburg DPA]* 41
Bishop Wants Christian Ethics in Gdansk Affair *[Vatican City]* 41
Gdansk Shipyards Manager Explains Closure Plans *[TRYBUNA LUDU 5-6 Nov]* 42
Military Training Boycott Ends at University 42
Youth Union on 'Roundtable,' Youth Cooperation *[SZTANDAR MLODYCH 20 Oct]* 42
Plan To Consolidate National Economy Reported *[TRYBUNA LUDU 3 Nov]* 43

ROMANIA

Dascalescu Continues Visit to Syria 51
  Tours Damascus Units 51
  Talks With Al-Asad 51
Details on Pay Increase in Oil, Light Industry *[ROMANIA LIBERA 4 Nov]* 51
Leaders' Public Appearances for 30 Oct-4 Nov 52

YUGOSLAVIA

TANJUG Views Bush Election Victory 53
Loncar Meets With FRG President in Bonn 53
  Commentary Assesses FRG Ties *[Canak]* 53

Further on Remarks by Slovenia's Stanovnik 54
    Belgrade Officials Condemn Remarks 54
    Veterans Group Criticizes Statements 54
    Stanovnik Defends Remarks 55
FEC Urged To Set Deadlines for Reform Laws 56
Statistics Institute Data on August Incomes *[BORBA 5-6 Nov]* 56
Suvar Visits TANJUG on 45th Anniversary 56
    Hasani, Mikulic Attend Celebration 57
Dizdarevic, Others Receive Olympic Athletes 57
Serbians Participate in 'Unofficial Referendum' 57
DNEVNIK Editorial Council Offers To Resign 57
Klina Schoolchildren's Demand on School Name Met 58
Potrc Rejects Claims on Constitutional Amendments 58
Slovene Delegates Demand Military Document 58
Vojvodina LC Critiques Vojvodina Body's Session 58
Backa Palenka Protests Vojvodina Candidates List 59
Vojvodina Union Body Officials Offer Resignations 59
Call for Kosovo School Name Changes Condemned 60
Montenegrin Internal Affairs Secretariat Statement 60
Bosnia-Hercegovina Views Presidency Candidates 61

Carcani Appearance at Activities Noted

AU0811200188 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Text] Comrade Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Comrade Lenka Cuko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; Comrade Simon Stefani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; Comrade Manush Myftiu, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Comrade Hekuran Isai, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Comrade Llambi Gegprifti, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and minister of industry and mines; and Comrade Pirro Kondi, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and Tirana District AWP Committee first secretary, visited the museum house where Comrade Enver Hoxha founded the Albanian Communist Party on 8 November 1941.

Comrade Adil Carcani and the other party and state leaders also visited the Enver Hoxha Museum and the Enver Hoxha Monument in the center of Tirana.

Superpower Navies in Mediterranean Deplored

AU0711153488 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 2 Nov 88 p 4

[Arben Karapici article: "The Mediterranean Cannot Be Guarded by the Superpowers' Gunboats"]

[Text] There has been more and more talk recently about turning the Mediterranean from a region of the superpowers' military confrontation into a zone of peace and cooperation. This has long been an aspiration, as old as it is legitimate, for the Mediterranean peoples and countries who have more than once shown their concern by drawing attention to the danger posed by the continued concentration of the superpowers' military fleets in the Mediterranean basin. However, it is calculation on a grand scale for the superpowers, in the name of these aspirations, to present plans and programs for increasing this military and naval presence, which has turned the Mediterranean into one of the most militarized of the seas. The Soviet "operational plan for the defense of the Mediterranean," recently given such great publicity by Moscow, is also of such content and character.

Of course, the first question that arises after all the commotion about these Soviet plans to turn the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and cooperation is that of who is threatening the Mediterranean and from whom the region should be defended. The proposers of this plan do not in any way raise this reasonable question. On the contrary, the "Soviet operational defense plan" for the Mediterranean neglects the principal and only factors of Mediterranean defense, the Mediterranean peoples and countries themselves.

Since it lacks proper military bases, the Soviet Union is more than ever concerned with raising its voice in favor of the so-called defense of the Mediterranean, under Moscow's wing. The "operational plan" also expresses these hegemonistic interests, according to which the Soviet fleet is the guarantor of peace and stability in the Mediterranean region. "It is not only problems of military security that determine Soviet interests in the Mediterranean," PRAVDA wrote recently. "Our sea routes to every part of the world have passed through the Mediterranean since ancient times," Moscow's spokesman stresses, "and our standpoint considers the broadest balance of interests, implying, first of all, a balance with American interests in the area." It is in accordance with this military balance that the Soviet Union has modernized its naval forces and shown their strength in the Mediterranean region, especially at points where they have succeeded in establishing a presence [fiksohet] such as off the Moroccan and Tunisian coasts, near Cape Passero in Sicily, and off the Gulf of Manfredonia in the Adriatic.

The Soviet operational plan for Mediterranean defense appears on the scene at a time when both the Soviet Union and the United States of America are constantly strengthening their fleets, not only in the Mediterranean, but in all other strategically important regions in the world. Under the guise of defending the Mediterranean, the superpowers try to conceal the harsh reality of the presence of their warships that patrol the waters of this region like behemoths, and have created dangerous situations for Mediterranean peoples and countries on more than one occasion. By publicizing the defensive character of the Soviet operational plan for the Mediterranean, Moscow seeks to distract the attention of the peoples of this region from the dangers posed to them by the superpowers' growing naval and military presence. In this plan, the Soviet Union also sets conditions guaranteeing the superpowers positions of arbitration in this area. In discussing the Mediterranean, Soviet propaganda media openly state that "its defense cannot be achieved without the cooperation of the great powers," which primarily implies American-Soviet military cooperation.

Neither the Soviet Union nor the United States of America are Mediterranean countries; the Mediterranean does not belong to them, and they have no business there. It is precisely this unjustifiable presence that increases tension and creates great dangers for the freedom and independence of the peoples of this region. Many past and present events show that the military fleets and troops of one superpower or another, stationed in the Mediterranean basin, support the policies of hegemony and domination pursued by the USSR and the U.S.A. in the Mediterranean, as in other regions of the world. Under such conditions, can we talk of the real defense of the Mediterranean without eliminating the fundamental reason for tension and danger, which is the two superpowers?

All Mediterranean countries and peoples aspire and struggle for the real transformation of the Mediterranean into a region of peace and cooperation. The Mediterranean region could truly be such an area of genuine security only if peace were not threatened by the presence of American and Soviet fleets. The Mediterranean cannot be guarded by the superpowers' gunboats; the free and independent defense and development of the countries of the Mediterranean, as of all European countries, can only be ensured by breaking the political and military chains of Washington and Moscow.

Sokrat Plaka Pays Visit to Austria

Leaves Tirana

AU0611195388 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 6 Nov 88

[Text] At the invitation of Thomas Klestil, general secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Austria, a delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, headed by Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister for foreign affairs, has left for an official and friendly visit to Austria.

Received by Waldheim

AU0911122388 Tirana ATA in English 1115 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] Tirana, November 9 (ATA)—On November 8, the federal president of the Republic Austria, Kurt Waldheim, received the vice minister of foreign affairs of the PSR of Albania, Sokrat Plaka.

In the course of meeting it was spoken on the development of the friendly relations between Albania and Austria as well as on the roads of their further development in different fields of mutual interest.

The president of Austria appreciated the independent policy of the PSR of Albania, its positive role regarding the cooperation in the Balkans, as well as the contribution it renders to the benefit of peace and security in the region. He asked him to transmit to the president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania, Ramiz Alia, his greetings and the best wishes for the progress and prosperity of the Albanian people.

Attending the meeting was also the secretary general of the Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Thomas Klestil. Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiairy of the PSR of Albania in Austria, Engjell Kolaneci.

Talks were conducted in Vienna on November 8 between the delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PSR of Albania, headed by the Vice Minister Sokrat Plaka, and the delegation of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Austria, headed by the general secretary, Thomas Klestil.

In the course of these talks, both sides positively evaluated the relations between the two countries and voiced the desire of their governments that they develop further in different fields of mutual interest, especially in that of the economic-trade cooperation, of culture, etc. Opinions were also exchanged on some present international developments, especially in the Balkans and Europe.

Attending the talks, which were conducted in a warm and friendly spirit, were also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiairy of the PSR of Albania in Austria, Engjell Kolaneci.

The chairman of the Commission of the Foreign Policy of the Parliament of the Republic of Austria, Peter Jankovic, received the vice minister of foreign affairs of the PSR of Albania, Sokrat Plaka, and had a cordial talk with him.

In the meeting it was spoken of the friendship linking the Austrian people with the Albanian one and the desire of developing the relations between the Parliament of the Republic of Austria and the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania.

Besides, Sokrat Plaka was received by the federal minister of science and scientific researches of the Republic of Austria, Hans Tuppy.

Trade Protocol With GDR Signed in Berlin

AU0311210288 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] A protocol on trade and payments for 1989 was signed yesterday in Berlin between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the GDR. The protocol was signed for Albania by Kostandin Hoxha, deputy minister of foreign trade, and for the East German side by Dieter Lemke, deputy minister of foreign trade.

The signing ceremony was attended by Dr Gerhard Beil, minister of foreign trade of the GDR, and Ilir Bocka, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in the GDR, as well as members of both delegations.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania will export to the GDR copper wires, tobacco, cigarettes, cognac, chrome ore, agricultural products, handicraft products, ready-to-wear clothes, and so forth, and will import from the GDR agricultural machinery and equipment, chemicals, pesticides, chemical fertilizers, machinery and equipment for the food and textile industries, and so forth.

Trade Agreement Signed With Hungary

AU0411202688 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Text] A trade and payments protocol for 1989 was signed yesterday in Budapest between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the People's Republic of Hungary. The protocol was signed for the Albanian side by Altin Ylli, deputy minister of foreign trade, and for the Hungarian side by Imre Dumai, deputy minister of foreign trade. The signing ceremony was attended by members of the two delegations.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania will export to the People's Republic of Hungary copper wires and cables, refractory bricks, ready-to-wear clothing, carpets, rugs, medicinal herbs, tobacco, agricultural products, and so forth; it will import nonferrous and aluminium rods, machinery and equipment, textiles, electronic components, medicines, raw materials, edible fats, and so forth.

Government Delegation Departs for Cuba

AU0511194088 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 5 Nov 88

[Text] A government trade delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, led by Minister of Foreign Trade Shane Korbeci, has left for the Republic of Cuba.

Foreign Affairs Commission Meeting Held

AU0711201788 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 7 Nov 88

[Text] The Foreign Affairs Commission of the People's Assembly met today, headed by its chairman, Foto Cami. Rita Marko, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; and Petro Dode, chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, took part in the meeting.

At this meeting, Reis Malile, minister for foreign affairs, spoke about the participation of the Albanian delegation in the proceedings of the 43d Session of the UN General Assembly, and about the meetings and talks he carried out with foreign ministers of Balkan and other countries.

At the commission, it was said that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has been [word indistinct] for the further development of international relations and cooperation, based on the familiar principles of equality, sovereignty, and mutual respect. Steps taken in the political field, in economic, trading, cultural, technical, and scientific exchanges, and in other fields testify to the desire of the Albanian Government to lead this process onward.

The Foreign Affairs Commission dwelt particularly on the development of relations with neighboring countries and on activities within the framework of Balkan cooperation. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the meeting stressed, has worked and will continue to work for the positive development of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the region in order to promote and strengthen a spirit of good understanding and trust, as well as peace and security.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 29 Oct-4 Nov

AU0411181088 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 29 October-4 November reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of broadcast in parentheses):

A ceremony was held in Tirana on 29 October to award titles and decorations to artists, sculptors, architects, and others involved in the construction of the Enver Hoxha Museum in Tirana and other monuments to Enver Hoxha on the 80th anniversary of his birthday. The ceremony was attended by Foto Cami, Rita Marko, Pirro Kondi, and Nexhmije Hoxha. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1430 GMT 29 October)

A national aktiv on the work of secondary agricultural schools was held in Shkoder. The aktiv was attended by Foto Cami and Muho Asllani. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 2 November)

A meeting of the General Council of Albanian Trade Unions was hekld in Tirana on 1 November. The meeting was attended by Rita Marko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 1 November)

Great October Anniversary Activities Continue

USSR Gives Reception

AU0911083788 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Nov 88 p 1

[BTA report: "Reception at Soviet Embassy"]

[Text] On 7 November Viktor Sharapov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria, gave a reception at the Soviet Embassy in Sofia on the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The following comrades conveyed to the Soviet ambassador their deep respect toward the cause of October and the successes of the Soviet people throughout the decades: Todor Zhivkov, Georgi Atanasov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Yordan Yotov, Milko Balev, Ognyan Doynov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, Grigor Stoichkov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Markov, Nacho Papazov, Dimitur Stanishev, and Emil Khristov; and Stanko Todorov, National Assembly chairman. Best wishes were also addressed by deputy chairmen of the State Council; members of the government; secretaries and members of the Permanent Board of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union; deputy chairmen of the National Assembly; representatives of sociopolitical organizations; noted figures from the fields of arts, science, and culture; heroes of socialist labor; and economic leaders.

Chiefs and members of diplomatic missions accredited in Sofia also attended the reception, which took place in an exceptionally cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Leaders Attend Ceremony

AU0911091188 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Nov 88 p 1

[Valentin Boyadzhiev report: "Flowers for October"]

[Excerpts] At 12 o'clock on 7 November many Sofia citizens, young people, and guests of our capital came to the Vladimir Ilich Lenin monument, where wreaths were laid in recognition of and respect for the life and cause of the leader of the world proletariat. [passage omitted]

The following comrades paid their respects: Georgi Atanasov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Yordan Yotov, Milko Balev, Ognyan Doynov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Georgi Yordanov, Grigor Stoichkov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Markov, Nacho Papazov, Vasil Tsanov, Dimitur Stanishev, and Emil Khristov; Stanko Todorov, National Assembly chairman; deputy chairmen of the State Council; secretaries and members of the Permanent Board of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union; deputy chairmen of the National Assembly; leaders of public organizations; and party veterans.

Viktor Sharapov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria, and members of the USSR Embassy also attended the ceremony. [passage omitted]

USSR's Durasov Discusses Cooperation

Meets With Atanasov

AU0411211688 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Text) Comrade Georgi Atanasov received Vladimir Durasov, USSR minister of nonferrous metallurgy. The guest was briefed on the problems that our country is coping with in the restructuring process and on the work of the labor collectives for the successful implementation of the 1988 Plan and for the preparation of the forthcoming economic year.

Particular attention was devoted during the talk to the further expansion of cooperation between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union in all spheres, especially in the field of nonferrous metallurgy.

Protocol Signed

AU0711190688 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Nov 88 p 6

[BTA report: "Intensification of Cooperation in the Metallurgical Sector"]

[Text] Vladimir Durasov, USSR minister of nonferrous metallurgy, is visiting our country at the head of a Soviet delegation. At meetings with the management of the "Metallurgy and Mineral Raw Materials" Association questions pertaining to the implementation of the agreements for the 1986-1990 period were discussed. The coordination of plans for interbranch, economic, and scientific-technical cooperation during the period up to 1990 and the question of joint investments for the supply of raw materials to nonferrous metallurgical enterprises were also dealt with. Opportunities were reviewed for expanding production-sharing in the output and processing of nonferrous metals and for direct joint cooperation in solving technical and technological problems.

Yesterday, Vladimir Durasov, USSR minister of nonferrous metallurgy, met Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, and Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of economy and planning. It was stated that the current meetings in Sofia represent a new impetus for further cooperation, built on common interests and mutual advantage. Questions were discussed pertaining to the intensification of relations in the field of automating technological processes through integration between the two countries in the field of electronics, as well as in applying new materials and technologies.

Khristo Bonin, chairman of the Metallurgy and Mineral Raw Materials Association and Vladimir Durasov, USSR minister of nonferrous metallurgy, signed a protocol on the results of their talks.

Soviet Measures in Afghanistan Approved

AU0711205788 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Nov 88 p 5

[Vladimir Zheglov article: "Necessary Measure"]

[Text] "Extremist groups once again attacked the capital of Afghanistan with missiles. Residential districts in Kabul were attacked with surface-to-surface missiles quite recently. One person was killed and 17 people were injured—all of them women and children...."

This news item is not just today's. It is only one in a long series of announcements from BAKHTAR news agency on the situation in Afghanistan which have appeared almost daily in the press since the signing of the Geneva agreements. Day after day, the U.S. missiles, supplied for the "irreconcilable ones" through Pakistan, devastated a clay school building in the outskirts of Kabul, fired at a civilian airliner, or left children who lost their fathers and mothers crying inconsolably.

The armed opposition rejected the agreements on a peaceful settlement of the Afghanistan problem and engaged in a war "to be fought until the victorious end"—a war against their own people. The bloodshed is taking place with the open material and moral support of no lesser countries than Pakistan and the United States—two of the four states which signed the documents adopted on 14 April 1988.

In contradiction with the Geneva agreements, the convoys loaded with modern weapons from Pakistan have not stopped. According to reports from Afghanistan, more and more frequently are corpses of U.S. military advisers discovered among the casualties on the battle fields. Plans for reshaping the borders with Afghanistan and for this country's total division into tribal communities are being discussed in Islamabad. The forces of the "irreconcilable" ones are intensifying their attacks against the Soviet military units and creating even more difficult conditions for the normal progress of their withdrawal.

At the same time, the USSR and Afghanistan are strictly observing the commitments they have assumed. By 15 August 1988 the Soviet Union had withdrawn half of its troops from Afghan territory. Kabul submitted not one or two, but several proposals to end the fratricidal war.

The price of such peaceful efforts is rather high considering the manner in which the peace process is being violated with the assistance of Islamabad and Washington. Not only the peoples of the USSR and Afghanistan, who are dearly paying for this, but also all the peace-loving forces, for whom the Geneva agreements represented hope for a future settlement of regional conflicts through only political means, are bitterly disappointed.

Under the above described conditions, the interruption of the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the delivery of new operational-tactical weapons to Afghanistan is a measure of defense and of legitimate self-protection. It represents an appeal to both Pakistan and the United States for common sense in

Albanian Party Anniversary Marked

AU0911111188 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Nov 88 p 4

[Georgi Monev article: "Leading Force of Society"]

[Text] All Albanian people, together with 147,000 Communists, are celebrating the anniversary of the founding of the AWP. This historical date attracts the attention of the Bulgarian Communists and of all working people in our country. Not only the traditions of long national liberation and revolutionary struggles, but also the common goals of building socialism, strengthening confidence, and cooperation on our Balkan peninsula link us together with the people of Albania.

The decisions of the Seventh Communist International Congress in 1935 and Georgi Dimitrov's historic appeal to expand a nationwide struggle against the offensive of fascism and create a broad antifascist people's front exerted a strong influence on the establishment of an organized vanguard of the Albanian workers' class and of all working people. The Albanian Communist Party was established in November 1941. Its provisional Central Committee launched the appeal: "Let us closely link the people's liberation struggle with the heroic struggle of the Soviet Union, which is the vanguard of struggle against fascism." An antifascist national front was established at the party's initiative in 1942 in the town of Peze, and during the summer of 1943, partisan units all over the country were reorganized into a national liberation army.

Following the liberation from Hitler's fascism, the path of socialist construction opened up to the Albanian people. Achievements in Albania's economic and cultural development during the forties and fifties were closely linked with the assistance of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. Since the beginning of the sixties, mutual relations and cooperation with most of these countries were interrupted. Later on, they were gradually restored. In the eighties Albania's foreign trade with the European socialist countries has increased. It is developing on the basis of long-term agreements and annual protocols. Albania has begun a trend toward businesslike relations with a number of capitalist countries. Positive changes in the relations of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania with Balkan countries occurred toward the end of the seventies.

The decisions of the Ninth AWP Congress (in 1986) gave a new impetus to Albania's development. This congress assigned the task of accelerating industry and agriculture and introducing important, structural changes in the country's economy, as well as the task of expanding social welfare measures for the population.

The ZERI I POPULLIT party organ now appeals for a "progressive, new way of thinking and for new revolutionary ideas in opposition to manifestations of a bureaucratic approach." The press points out the need to improve the economic mechanism and grant greater freedom to enterprises in connection with the fulfillment of their plans.

The Ninth AWP Congress expressed the view that economic relations with various countries of the world are a contribution to the normal development of international relations. At the first postwar meeting of ministers of foreign affairs from Balkan countries held in Belgrade Reis Malile, the Albanian minister of foreign affairs, expressed his country's readiness to contribute to the development of multilateral and bilateral Balkan cooperation in all basic spheres. It is a well-known fact that the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania have already promoted the leaders of their diplomatic missions to the rank of ambassadors, which reflects the striving for further expanding and strengthening their interstate relations on a mutually advantageous basis. This aspiration is in accordance with the positive experience in bilateral cooperation, as well as with the traditional relations of friendship existing between the two peoples.

Guided by such feelings, the Bulgarian Communists cordially congratulate their Albanian comrades on the occasion of the 47th anniversary of the AWP, wishing them new successes in the construction of socialism.

Indian Defense Minister 'Impressed' by Visit

AU2410122088 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 21 Oct 88 p 4

[Interview with Krishna Chandra Pant, India's minister of defense, by Major Vladi Vladkov, NARODNA ARMIYA correspondent "'We Are Living in a Crucial and Unprecedented Time'"; given during his visit to Bulgaria]

[Text] As we already reported, Krishna Chandra Pant, minister of defense of the Republic of India, paid an official and friendly visit to Bulgaria from 13 to 17 October at the invitation of Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense. Despite his intensive and strenuous program, prior to his departure, the distinguished guest answered questions from Major Vladi Vladkov, NARODNA ARMIYA correspondent.

[Vladkov] Mr Minister, India and Bulgaria are states, which despite the great geographic distance between them, have close and friendly relations. Your visit to Bulgaria is more proof of this. How, in your opinion, did the meeting between the first leaders of the two military ministries enrich relations between our nations?

[Pant] As you correctly noted, our countries are far apart and yet very close. However, experience confirms the well-known fact that even closest relations must constantly be maintained by regular contacts. Our two governments are doing everything to ensure this. Regular meetings are taking place at all levels and in all spheres of cooperation, such as the areas of culture, economy, technology, and politics. My present visit, which follows the visit of Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov to India in October 1984, is another confirmation of the importance which our government attributes to relations with the People's Republic of Bulgaria. This meeting of ours afforded the opportunity to exchange opinions on some bilateral and international questions in a friendly and cordial atmosphere. Our two delegations intensively analyzed the progress of bilateral relations, and searched for new spheres of possible cooperation. This exchange of opinions led to a better and firsthand understanding of the two countries' positions and approaches.

[Vladkov] Recently the new political thinking became an important component in the contacts between states and peoples. However, certain politicians are still treating the new political thinking with suspicion. How do you see its prospects?

[Pant] Yes, there is a certain hesitation on the part of certain figures and even states. However, as I said at the beginning of my visit to Bulgaria, we are living in a crucial and unprecedented time. "Crucial," because human civilization has never before faced such a serious threat, produced by itself. "Unprecedented," because for the first time mankind is reviewing the possibility of protecting peace, security, and international cooperation. This opportunity must be utilized by all nations and peoples. There is no other alternative. However, I am glad to be able to add that ever more positive trends are becoming evident in the work of the United Nations and other international forums.

[Vladkov] Recently, during his visit to Krasnoyarsk, Mikhail Gorbachev proposed new peace initiatives, aimed at decreasing the level of military confrontation in the Asia-Pacific region. How were these initiatives greeted in India?

[Pant] Mr Gorbachev's new proposals were greeted with satisfaction in our country. Our premier, Rajiv Gandhi has already made an official statement on this. Indeed, a special group was formed in our Ministry of Foreign Affairs and charged with studying the proposals. I am glad that Gorbachev does not permit diplomats and politicians throughout the world to be idle.

[Vladkov] You have the opportunity to address the soldiers and commanders of the Bulgarian People's Army through the pages of our newspaper. What would you like to say to them?

[Pant] During the last few days I have had the opportunity to talk with a broad circle of your former officers and see a "cross-section" of your Armed Forces. I also visited several training centers of the Bulgarian People's Army. I can say without any reservations that I am full of admiration for your professionalism, competence, and willingness to work, which are evident. I could feel the spirit of selflessness and a sense of duty during the short contacts I have had in the last few days. I was especially impressed by your conscious efforts to modernize and improve the level of training in your Armed Forces. I was told in advance, and my visit confirmed this, that today the Bulgarian Armed Forces are confident in themselves and ready to implement their tasks. On behalf of the Indian Defense Forces and on my personal behalf, I convey through your newspaper best wishes to the Bulgarian Armed Forces for further successes in their effort to achieve even higher summits of combat skills.

SRV Peasant Leader Pham Bai Interviewed

AU0311133488 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 1 Nov 88 p 4

[Interview with Pham Bai, chairman of the Vietnamese Peasants Union, by Mariana Tsvetanova, representative of the ZEMEDESLKO ZNAME Editorial Board: "The Rich Experience of the BZNS Is of Interest to Us"—date and place not given]

[Text] At the invitation of the Permanent Board of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS], a delegation of the Vietnamese Peasants Union led by Pham Bai, the union's chairman, visited Bulgaria from 18 through 26 October. The leader of the delegation was kind enough to answer questions from a representative of the ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME Editorial Board.

[Tsvetanova] Comrade Bai, this is your second visit to Bulgaria. Would you like to tell us your impressions from the current visit?

[Pham Bai] I was in Bulgaria 6 years ago because good friendly contacts had been established between my home province of Tai Bin and Pazardzhik. During my delegation's visit this time, we visited many oblasts, which has enriched my ideas about Bulgaria, especially about Bulgarian agriculture.

The process of restructuring in agriculture and the Bulgarian village in general was what made the strongest impression on us. Everywhere we see this spirit, this atmosphere of change, and one senses the Bulgarian peasants' determination to implement the new agrarian policy in real life. The task is to increase the peasants' personal interest and to provide them with incentives and stimuli to produce more products for society. We know that this road is not an easy one, but we are sure that, with your traditions and under the BCP leadership, the Bulgarian people and the Bulgarian cooperative workers will successfully carry out the task they have been given. From my heart, I wish them even greater successes in this direction.

[Tsvetanova] Can you briefly tell us about the Vietnamese Peasants Union?

[Pham Bai] The Vietnamese Peasants Union is a political and social organization that unites 10 million peasants under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam. The union was founded recently, in 1987, but it possesses sound, deep roots among the Vietnamese peasants, roots that reach back to the Vietnamese people's struggle against the colonialists and imperialists. The main task of our organization is to educate and mobilize the peasants at the new stage of constructing socialism in Vietnam, for cooperative working of the land, to build the new Vietnamese countryside, and to turn the peasants into socialist managers. The union has a central national leadership and provincial, regional, and commune leaderships.

[Tsvetanova] How do you view the prospects for developing the ties between the BZNS and the Vietnamese Peasants' Union?

[Pham Bai] During our visit we had a very interesting and useful meeting with Petur Tanchev, secretary of the BZNS and first deputy chairman of the State Council, who briefed us on the history and present activities of the BZNS in the country's social, economic, and political life. We discussed the prospects for future relations between our two organizations. We were particularly strongly impressed by the long-standing democratic traditions of the BZNS, and believe that we can utilize and learn from its rich experience. There is wide scope for cooperation in various fields, on a bilateral and multilateral basis.

In the near future we will specify the forms of our cooperation in order to start practical work on the issues raised during our talks.

I would like to use this opportunity to convey through ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME the best sentiments of the Vietnamese peasants, and their good wishes to the Bulgarian peasant farmers and all Bulgarian people for great successes.

Yotov Receives Corrieri, Cuban Delegation

AU0311111688 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Nov 88 p 2

[Text] In Sofia on 1 November Yordan Yotov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received the visiting delegation from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC], led by Sergio Corrieri, chief of the Culture Department of the PCC Central Committee.

The guests were briefed on the BCP's work on implementing the July Concept on the Further Construction of Socialism in Bulgaria and on the directions for in-depth restructuring in the intellectual sphere in particular.

A high assessment was given to the fraternal relations and comprehensive cooperation between the BCP and PCC, and confidence was voiced that they would continue to deepen in the future, in the interest of the Bulgarian and Cuban peoples and of developing socialism in both countries.

The meeting, which took place in a cordial comradely atmosphere, was attended by Todor Ganchev, deputy chief of the Ideological Policy Department of the BCP Central Committee.

Manual Perez Hernandez, the Cuban ambassador to Bulgaria, was also present.

Trade Cooperation Protocol With Cambodia Signed

AU0311194788 Sofia BTA in English
1852 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Sofia, November 3 (BTA)—Bulgaria and Kampuchea will increase their barter next year by four per cent in comparison to 1988. This is envisaged in the protocol, signed this evening, for barter and payments. The import from Kampuchea will include: black pepper, rubber, soy-bean, tropical wood material. Bulgaria will deliver motor trucks, products of metallurgy, metallurgical and chemical industry and pharmaceutics. The document was signed by Mr. Angel Ganev, chief secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, and by Mr. Phang Saret, first deputy minister of foreign and home trade of Kampuchea.

Trade Union Conference Conclusions Analyzed

AU2710145088 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 26 Oct 88 p 2

[Mariana Mikhaylova report: "Direct Democracy"]

[Text] Sofia 25 October—An international scientific-practical conference opened at the Boyana residence of the Bulgarian Trade Unions today. It is devoted to the subject: "Trade Unions and Socialist Democracy—Direct Links, Joint Enterprises, International Competition." It is organized by the Trade Unions Central Council and the Georgi Dimitrov Trade Unions Scientific Research Institute. The conference is attended by representatives of trade unions and their institutions from the GDR, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. For 3 days they will discuss topical, theoretical, and practical questions pertaining to the role of trade unions in the development of socialist economic integration. At today's session the participants in the debates focused their attention on problems and future aspects of direct economic democracy, on the requirement to revise the well-known principles of directing integration processes, and on the new role of the labor collective in international economic life.

One of the conclusions drawn in this connection was that numerous situations of conflict that have emerged in connection with the implementation of agreements on commodity exchange between CEMA member countries are a result of the existing contradiction between the economic independence of labor collectives and the centralized regulation of their obligations in the sphere of economic relations and cooperation. An analysis of the current practice in the activities of joint enterprises shows that in order to achieve high economic and social efficiency, it is necessary to make sure that intervention by the state and by superior economic organizations does not occur through administrative-command methods, but through economic means.

The social problems connected with the development of bilateral and multilateral integration relations are of special interest. The conference has revealed views on opportunities for the trade unions to adopt the initiative in connection with improving labor legislation, as well as in clarifying the social status of foreign workers and specialists in cases in which the exchange of such persons is implemented within the framework of established, direct links between the respective countries.

BCP Member Dimitar Vasilev Dies 7 Nov

AU0811201488 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1830 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Excerpt] On 7 November, after a lengthy illness, Dimitur Tsanov Vasilev, loyal son of the party and people, member of the BCP Central Committee, active fighter against fascism and capitalism, and Hero of Socialist Labor, died. An obituary has been issued by the BCP Central Committee and the Central Committee of the Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism Union. [passage omitted]

The ceremony to bid farewell to the mortal remains of Dimitur Vasilev will take place at 1100 on Wednesday 9 November, at the town hall in the village of Trudovets.

Action on Citizens' Letters to Press Reviewed

AU0411115788 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 3 Nov 88 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Dealing With Letters, Complaints, and Requests—A Responsible Party Instruction"]

[Excerpts] At its last session the Bureau of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission examined the results of the check made on the organization of work relating to letters, complaints, and proposals sent to the editorial office of RABOTNICHESKO DELO, the responses of the departments that were criticized, and the work of the newspaper's "Readers' Letters" department during the period from 1 January 1987 through 30 June 1988.

The decision adopted assessed as effective the editorial office's efforts to implement a radical change in publishing work using letters in order to intensify the dialogue between the reader and the editor in the spirit of the decisions of the July 1987 Plenum of the BCP Central Committee and the 1976 Decision of the BCP Central Committee Politburo "On Further Improving Criticism in the Mass Media."

During 1987, 13,129 letters were received by the editorial board from citizens and official departments, and 9,054 were received in the first half of 1988. Of these letters, 544 and 598 respectively were published separately, while 410 and 440 letters were used in articles. During the entire 18-month period 1,425 replies were received from departments and organizations that had been criticized. In addition, 2,100 persons in 1987, and 1,600 in 1988 visited the editorial board's reception office.

This increase is a natural result of the deep processes of restructuring and the persistent efforts of the newspaper's leadership and collective to intensify and democratize the "reader-editor" dialogue. [passage omitted] However, the planned assumption by RABOTNICHESKO DELO of the role of press organ of the entire party demands that even greater efforts be made in this direction. These efforts are also needed to overcome certain weaknesses and shortcomings in handling letters, complaints, and warnings from citizens that are being permitted in all departments and organizations.

It is now particularly important to show greater persistence and consistency in achieving changes and results following critical articles, and to bring to account leaderships, leaders, and all persons who fail to respond to criticism, respond in a formal manner and with great delay, or reject the criticism without good grounds and without displaying self-criticism. Such cases were also established during the check. The workers in the reception office of Sofia City People's Council and the officials in Lyulin Municipal People's Council displayed formalism in connection with the publication in the newspaper of a letter from Engineer Lyubomir Gulubov entitled "The Ideal System." Instead of causing immediate steps to be taken and forcing the Economic Energy Combine to solve the citizen's problem, they practically singled him out as responsible for the delay in settling the matter, as if saying "Doesn't he know the procedure in such cases?" In connection with the RABOTNICHESKO DELO article, the Bureau of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission proposed to the Executive Committee of Sofia City People's Council that it should discuss the issue of organizing services with a view to overcoming certain bureaucratic phenomena. [passage omitted]

Prague Comments on Bush Election Victory

LD0911085988 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Correspondent Vladimir Solecky report from New York]

[Excerpts] The U.S. presidential elections on Tuesday brought no special surprises. It emerged that the opinion polls of the voters' mood were on the whole correct. Vice President George Bush won in a considerable majority of U.S. states despite the fact that Governor Dukakis managed to win in some states with large populations, such as New York and Illinois. [passage omitted]

George Bush was thus elected the 41st U.S. president, and on 21 January he will take over from Ronald Reagan the administration. At the same time, he will also be faced with solving a number of problems, undoubtedly with the cooperation of the Democratic majority in the two chambers of the U.S. Congress. These problems will above all be the vast budget deficit, the ever increasing U.S. debt, as well as the decline of the ability of U.S. industry to compete on the world market. In the sphere of foreign policy George Bush also won by the fact that he promised his voters to continue talks with the Soviet Union on the reduction of both nuclear and conventional arsenals.

Officials Attend Great October Festivities

USSR Group Arrives

AU0911145988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Nov 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Soviet Delegation Lands in Prague"]

[Text] Prague—A two-member delegation of the Soviet-Czechoslovak Friendship Society arrived by air in Czechoslovakia on Sunday [6 November]. The members of the delegation, which will be attending the celebrations of the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, are Viktor Vakht, deputy chairman of the central management of the Soviet-Czechoslovak Friendship Society and secretary of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Estonian SSR, and Georgiy Ansimov, USSR national artist and director of the Bolshoy Theater.

Guests Attend Rally

AU0911131888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Nov 88 p 1

["ada, CTK" - signed report: "Unhesitatingly and Consistently Along the Path of Social Transformations; Festive Rally to Mark the 71st Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution"]

[Excerpts] Prague— With a festive rally of the working people and the youth of Prague and Central Bohemia in the Palace of Culture in Prague on Monday [7 November], the Czechoslovak capital joined the festivities to mark the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. [passage omitted]

The rally was attended by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, and CSSR President Gustav Husak.

The festive speech, which recalled the legacy for the present of the ideas of the Great October, of the victory of the Russian proletariat 71 years ago, and which launched a new epoch in world history, was delivered by Karel Urbanek, chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR and chairman of the Czech SR National Front Central Committee. [passage omitted]

The festive session was also attended by Comrades Ladislav Adamec, Vasil Bilak, Jan Fojtik, Karel Hoffmann, Alois Indra, Josef Kempny, Jozef Lenart, Frantisek Pitra, Miroslav Stepan, Josef Haman, Vladimir Herman, Miloslav Hruskovic, Jaroslav Hajn, Mikulas Beno, Frantisek Hanus, Zdenek Horeni, Marie Kabrhelova, Josef Mevald, Vasil Mohorita, Jindrich Polednik, and Rudolf Rohlicek. [passage omitted]

The guests also included Viktor Vakht, deputy chairman of the Soviet-Czechoslovak Friendship Society and secretary of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Estonian SSR, at the head of a delegation of the Soviet-Czechoslovak Friendship Society. [passage omitted]

The festive rally in the Congress Hall of the Palace of Culture simultaneously marked the opening of the Month of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship.

Stepan-Led Delegation Visits USSR

Leaves 30 Oct

LD3010161388 Prague CTK in English 1502 GMT 30 Oct 88

[Text] Prague Oct 30 (CTK)—A delegation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party City Committee, led by Presidium member of the party Central Committee and leading secretary of the Prague City Party Committee Miroslav Stepan, left here Sunday for an official working visit to the Soviet Union.

The Czechoslovak party officials will visit Moscow to discuss the deepening of bilateral cooperation, and Leningrad to set up contacts between Prague and this city.

Partnership Established

AU0711111088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Nov 88 p 2

[CTK report: "Return of CPCZ City Committee Delegation"]

[Text] Prague—The delegation of the CPCZ's Prague City Committee, headed by Miroslav Stepan, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and leading secretary of the CPCZ Prague City Committee, returned on Wednesday [2 November] from its official working visit to Moscow and Leningrad.

During its stay in the Soviet Union the representatives of Czechoslovak and Soviet city party and state organizations exchanged experiences in restructuring the society in the two countries, and discussed issues connected with the intensification of cooperation between the working people, enterprises, and institutions in Prague and Moscow. They also established specific direct partnership relations between Prague and Leningrad; this will contribute toward a more effective development of the two fraternal cities.

Jakes Receives USSR Academician Bogomolov

LD0811223788 Prague CTK in English
1752 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Text] Prague Nov 8 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes today received director of the Institute for the Economy of the World Socialist System of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, Academician Oleg Bogomolov, who is on a working visit to Czechoslovakia.

They exchanged experiences from the restructuring of the economic mechanism in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union and discussed the ways of improving the mechanism of international economic cooperation in the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) member countries.

In this connection they stressed the need for further extension of mutual relations in the sphere of economic sciences.

Johanes Comments on Budapest Pact Session

AU0311122188 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
31 Oct 88 p 4

[Report by CTK and Gejza Vilcek, Bratislava PRAVDA permanent Budapest correspondent: "Committee of Warsaw Pact Ministers of Foreign Affairs Held a Session in Budapest; Ways of Reducing Tension"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

J. Johanes About the Session

In an interview with Czechoslovak journalists accredited in Budapest [on 29 October], Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, said that the main benefit of the just concluded session of the Committee of the Warsaw Pact Ministers of Foreign Affairs lies in its contribution to the deeper coordination of the foreign policy of the Warsaw Pact member states and to their effort to strengthen the positive trends in international relations which we have witnessed lately, and for which the main credit goes to the active foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

In the spirit of the new political thinking, it is necessary to seek new ways toward further relaxing international tension, toward disarmament, toward averting the danger of war, ensuring the most favorable external conditions for life in peace, and implementing the process of restructuring in our countries.

The session concentrated its attention on the situation in Europe. The Warsaw Pact member states are interested in the earliest possible conclusion of the CSCE Vienna follow-up meeting. This very year they want to begin talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armament in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, and to initiate the second stage of the conference on confidence-building measures and security and disarmament. Precisely on that issue a statement was issued, which shows the path to progress in that sphere, too.

Regarding the strengthening of security in Europe and the building of a common European home, we provided information about the CSSR's part in that process, especially about the initiative aimed at establishing a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states, submitted by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary.

I would like to stress that the session fully affirmed the correctness of our foreign political line and contributed to strengthening the unity of the socialist community. To me, as a newly appointed minister, the session also provided a welcome opportunity to meet my counterparts from the Warsaw Pact member states, as well as to discuss some topical issues of bilateral cooperation, and of cooperation and collaboration between our Ministries of Foreign Affairs.

Lenart Discusses Highlights of GDR Visit

AU0711202988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
4 Nov 88 p 7

[Interview with Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, by RUDE PRAVO correspondent Vladimir Plesnik: "More Boldly Toward New Forms of Economic Cooperation"—in Berlin on 3 November]

[Text] Berlin (Our Correspondent)— Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, concluded his 3-day working visit to the GDR on Thursday [3 November].

On the last day of his stay, Comrade Lenart paid a visit to the Nikolaus district in the GDR's capital, where he observed the way in which monuments are renovated. The same day, the Czechoslovak guest again met with Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Subsequently, Comrade Lenart gave an interview to reporters of the Czechoslovak media in the GDR.

[Plesnik] Comrade Secretary, what concrete results has your visit brought from the viewpoint of the cooperation between our two fraternal parties?

[Lenart] First of all, I would like to say that we assessed from party positions the results of the talks between Comrade Jakes and Comrade Honecker. That was the main and decisive task of my working visit. The talks were marked by a party approach, exactingness, pragmatism, concreteness, and a critical attitude, and I can say that they also had features of optimism. We are not embellishing the results of our cooperation, but we view with hope the great possibilities for their further development.

[Plesnik] What prospects are there for the development of the two countries' relations in the economic and scientific-technical spheres?

[Lenart] I do not want to replace state, government, scientific, and economic institutions. However, in my opinion there are not only considerable reserves [reservy], but also great resources and stimuli which should be further utilized in this sphere—especially in scientific-technical cooperation. I would say that the comrades in the GDR are also interested in closer cooperation with us. In the past we had a good start, the conditions for which were created by the results of the talks between Comrades Jakes and Honecker.

[Plesnik] You spoke about certain reserves. What can be done here to further improve cooperation?

[Lenart] Our opinion is that Czechoslovakia and the GDR should begin to implement the new forms more boldly, should approach more boldly the issue of joint scientific-technical institutes, joint ventures, and trade organizations, and should not be afraid to make bold use of these forms. Not only are the reserves involved here, but also the creation of new resources, new themes, especially in science and technology; extensive opportunities present themselves in both electronics and automation, as well as in the sphere of biotechnology, genetics, and cybernetics.

For example, we paid a visit to the SED Central Committee's Institute For Questions of Managing and Planning the National Economy. I must say that the results of the institute's work in educating and training management cadres, as well as in scientific activity in the sphere of managing the socialist economy are very interesting.

[Plesnik] Did you also discuss the expansion of cooperation within the framework of CEMA?

[Lenart] Of course we also discussed that issue. In this respect, we critically noted the slow progress in using the opportunities arising from the 44th CEMA session in Prague. We particularly stressed that the very good economic and scientific-technical contacts which Czechoslovakia and the GDR have with the USSR must be further intensified. The suggestions of Comrades Gorbachev, Jakes, and Honecker concerning those issues must be unequivocally applied through the state bodies, scientific institutes, industrial enterprises, trade organizations, and in the economy in general.

[Plesnik] I thank you for the interview.

Press Release on Dos Santos Visit Issued

AU0411183688 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
2 Nov 88 p 2

[Unattributed "Joint Press Release" on Jose Eduardo dos Santos' visit to the CSSR from 30 October to 1 November]

[Text] Prague— A joint press release was issued at the conclusion of the visit paid by Jose Eduardo dos Santos to the CSSR:

Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)-Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola, heading a party and state delegation of the People's Republic of Angola, paid an official friendly visit to the CSSR on 30 October-1 November at the invitation of Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, and CSSR President Gustav Husak. The top-level delegation was accorded an ardent and cordial welcome.

In the course of the visit the delegations of the CSSR and the People's Republic of Angola conducted official negotiations, held in an atmosphere of friendship and solidarity.

Milos Jakes and Gustav Husak acquainted the Angolan guests with the progress achieved in implementing the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and in accomplishing the tasks of restructuring the economic mechanism and developing socialist democracy, formulated by the last CPCZ Central Committee sessions.

Jose Eduardo dos Santos briefed them on the accomplishment of tasks set by the Second MPLA-Labor Party Congress in 1985, with emphasis on providing for the implementation of the program of the country's economic normalization.

In appraising the level of their bilateral cooperation, the two sides stated with gratification that this cooperation is based on the principles set down in the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation Between the CSSR and the People's Republic of Angola of 1981, and that it is successfully developing for the benefit of progress in both countries. They spoke in favor of further expanding and consolidating this cooperation.

The two sides spoke in favor of intensifying bilateral cooperation; the long-term program should be worked out by a mixed commission for economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

In mutual relations, extraordinary attention should be devoted to developing cooperation between the CPCZ and the MPLA-Labor Party.

In exchanging views on the most important issues of the present, the two sides welcomed the new political thinking which is being asserted in international relations, and the atmosphere oriented toward detente which characterizes the current international situation. They spoke in favor of halting the armament race, preventing its expansion to outer space, and of continuing Soviet-American negotiations on a substantial reduction of the strengths of strategic offensive weapons; and expressed support for the efforts made by the international community to consolidate world peace.

The two sides also spoke in favor of accepting the proposal made by the socialist countries to create a comprehensive system of international security. The Angolan side supported the Czechoslovak initiative to create a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good neighborly relations along the line of contact between Warsaw Pact and NATO states.

The MPLA-Labor Party chairman and president of the People's Republic of Angola provided information about current developments in Angola and in South- West Africa, and about the course of the quadripartite talks. The two sides resolutely condemned the regime of apartheid and its aggressive policy of destabilization, directed against the independent and sovereign states in the area. They affirmed their solidarity with the just struggle waged by the African National Congress (ANC) and other progressive forces in the RSA, and by the South-West Africa People's Organization in Namibia.

The two sides spoke in favor of accepting the comprehensive mandatory UN sanctions against the racist RSA regime and in favor of Namibia's immediate independence in line with the UN Security Council Resolution No 435/78.

The Czechoslovak side expressed its support for the effort made by the Government of the People's Republic of Angola at the quadripartite negotiations on the peaceful settlement of the conflict in South- West Africa, and for its political flexibility. The talks of the two delegations were characterized by a concurrence of views on the issues under consideration.

The top representative of the People's Republic of Angola gave thanks for the nice and comradely reception and hospitality, at the same time inviting Milos Jakes and Gustav Husak to visit the People's Republic of Angola. The invitation was gratefully accepted.

Bilak Meets Angola's Mbinda, Signs Agreement

AU0211172188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Nov 88 p 1

[CTK report]

[Text] Prague—Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, met with Alfonso van Dunem Mbinda, member of the Politburo, secretary of the Central Committee of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA]-Labor Party, and minister of external affairs of the Republic of Angola, within the framework of bilateral Czechoslovak-Angolan talks in Prague on Monday [1 November]. They discussed the current state of the two sides' cooperation and in this connection noted its high standard. They also assessed new themes for expanding this cooperation.

At the end of their cordial, comradely talk, the two representatives signed a plan for cooperation between the CPCZ and the MPLA-Labor Party in 1989-90. According to the plan the CPCZ will participate in the training of Angolan party cadres and extend to the MPLA-Labor Party further assistance in the ideological and mass political sector.

Janik, Others Travel to Guinea-Bissau

Received by Officials

AU0211165088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Oct 88 p 7

[CTK report: "Reception in Luanda"]

[Text] Luanda—On Thursday [27 October] a delegation of the CSSR Federal Assembly, headed by its deputy chairman and chairman of the Chamber of Nations, Jan Janik, which is paying an official friendly visit to Angola, was received—representing the head of state—by Pedro Maria Tonha, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA]-Labor Party and minister of national defense of the People's Republic of Angola. Pedro Maria Tonha expressed, among other things, the conviction that the two sides will find concrete possibilities and forms to involve the CSSR in the program of Angola's economic and financial recuperation.

Jan Janik stressed the need to much more actively seek concrete themes for improving mutual economic cooperation.

The Czechoslovak delegation was received by Juliao Mateus Paulo, secretary of the Central Committee of the MPLA- Labor Party for state and legal bodies and member of the Standing Committee of the Angolan People's Assembly, the same day. He discussed with J. Janik issues concerning the two countries' economic development.

The Czechoslovak delegation left Angola by air for an official visit to Guinea-Bissau on Friday [28 October].

Visit Concludes

AU0311125888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
1 Nov 88 p 7

[CTK report: "Federal Assembly Delegation Visiting Guinea-Bissau"]

[Text] Bissau—The CSSR Federal Assembly delegation, headed by Jan Janik, CSSR Federal Assembly chairman and chairman of the Chamber of Nations, concluded its 3-day official friendly visit to Guinea-Bissau and departed by air to Ethiopia.

The visit to Guinea-Bissau was the first of its kind in the history of contacts between the two parliaments and states. During the visit the CSSR Federal Assembly delegation conducted negotiations with representatives of the People's National Assembly, headed by its chairperson, Carmen Pereira.

The two sides briefed each other on the work of parliaments in the CSSR and in Guinea-Bissau, exchanged views on important international problems, and discussed possibilities of developing parliamentary cooperation.

At the conclusion of its visit the CSSR Federal Assembly delegation was received by Joao Bernardo Vieira, Central Committee secretary general of the African Independence Party of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC) and president of Guinea-Bissau. He called the visit of the Czechoslovak parliamentary delegation a significant step in the development of mutual relations.

Significance of Expanded EEC Treaty Discussed

AU0411151588 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech
2 Nov 88 p 5

[Interview with Engineer E. Vosicky, Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade official, by Vladimir Matejovsky: "Not Only Shifted Ceilings; CSSR-EEC Trade Will Get a Strong Ally"—interview on the "premises of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade;" date not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Matejovsky] How significant is CSSR trade with the EEC?

[Vosicky] Due to our geographical position, the EEC countries play an important role among our trade partners. Roughly 10 percent of CSSR foreign trade is currently with the EEC—i.e. about 60 percent of all our trade with the developed capitalist states.

[Matejovsky] But we used to trade with the EEC even without an agreement on industrial products. So why is the new agreement [initialed at the end of October in Brussels] so significant?

[Vosicky] The majority of our exports to EEC countries traditionally consist of industrial goods. These goods in particular are affected by import quotas, i.e. by the annual volumes fixed for specific goods, which our exports to individual EEC countries must not exceed. The EEC has been unilaterally setting these restrictions since 1975. The prepared agreement increases all quotas, even totally lifting the restrictions on a number of items. Another important thing is that in the future we will be negotiating the quotas annually—in other words, we will revert to the pre-1975 practice. [passage omitted] We have committed ourselves to improving the flow of information to the EEC about our investment plans in areas in which the EEC firms could participate. This makes the agreement balanced.

[Matejovsky] The agreement ceases to be valid in 1992. What will happen then?

[Vosicky] We will open further negotiations while the agreement is still valid. We would like to expand it, so as to cover the whole sphere of mutual trade. This will also depend on the 12 states' further goals—so far they even have no clear ideas about the quotas. They could either retain the present system (i.e. different quotas for individual countries), or lay down general restrictions for the EEC as a whole. A complete liberalization of trade is also being considered. The important fact is that the treaty has an automatic prolongation clause (if we come to no other agreement).

Individual Travel to Poland Facilitated

AU0211163588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
1 Nov 88 p 2

["tom"-signed report: "Once Again on Travel to Poland"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] A few days ago Miroslav Marousek, secretary of the Czechoslovak part of the Joint CSSR-Polish People's Republic Commission for the Solution of Tourism-Related Problems, sent us the principles of the course to be pursued in organizing tourism between the two states. [passage omitted]

The newly issued principles also regulate in great detail travel in humanitarian cases and in other cases worthy of consideration, such as participation in relatives' funerals, visits of people who are seriously ill, and so forth. Mentioned in this category is the possibility of travel on the basis of an invitation extended by acquaintances. As a rule, such visits will be possible, once a year. The written invitation should be in the same form as the invitations of relatives [which are already possible]. [passage omitted] The person extending the invitation must commit himself to provide accommodation for the person invited and to cover all expenses connected with the stay.

CPCZ Delegation Arrives in SFRY

AU0911144188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
8 Nov 88 p 7

[CTK report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Summary] A CPCZ Central Committee study delegation headed by Miloslav Dockal, head of a CPCZ Central Committee, arrived in Belgrade on 8 November at the invitation of the SFRY Central Committee. With its Yugoslav counterparts the delegation will exchange, among other things, experience from the training of young scientific and pedagogic cadres. The delegation will also visit Zagreb.

Zavadil, Delegation Travel to India

Meet CP General Secretary

AU3110155188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
28 Oct 88 p 6

[Report by CTK correspondent: "On M. Zavadil's Talks in Delhi"]

[Text] Delhi—Miroslav Zavadil, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member, Central Trade Union Council [URO] chairman, and WFTU deputy chairman, was received by Chandra Rajeswara Rao, general secretary of the National Council of the Communist Party of India, in Delhi on Thursday [27 October]. They assessed some issues concerning the international communist and workers' movement and assessed as valuable the level of relations between the two fraternal parties. They also discussed the possibility of further expanding mutual cooperation.

M. Zavadil met with Indian Minister of Textiles Ram Niwar Mirdha on the same day. They highly appraised the results of the recent visit by Indian President Ramaswamy Venkataraman to Czechoslovakia and favored the further expansion of Czechoslovak-Indian cooperation.

M. Zavadil is in the Indian capital heading a URO delegation, which is attending the 41st session of the WFTU General Council.

Group Departs Delhi

LD2810211688 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
0900 GMT 28 Oct 88

[Text] India: The Central Council of Trade Unions delegation headed by Miroslav Zavadil, Presidium member of the CPCZ Central Committee, chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, and WFTU deputy chairman, ended its stay in India and left by air for home. It took part in the Indian capital in the 41st session of the WFTU General Council. During his stay in Delhi, Miroslav Zavadil met representatives of Indian communist parties.

'Dignified Farewell' Urged for Old Cadres

AU0911092688 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
3 Nov 88 p 3

[Letter by Zdenek Sarek from Havirov in the "We Exchange Views, We Conduct Polemics" column: "Cadres Are Crucial"]

[Excerpts] I read with interest the article by Rudolf Hegenbart, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department, in RUDE PRAVO of 6 October. In my opinion there is something new, courageous, and logical in it. [passage omitted]

I fully agree with Comrade Hegenbart in that it is necessary to vigorously condemn the egocentrism that is displayed by the effort to be at the head of party and social agencies as long as possible, thus preventing the younger and middle-aged generation from becoming involved in decisions on present and future social problems. It seems to me, however, that in implementing this requirement we are forgetting the central functionaries. There are comrades who have done much for the party and society, many of them at the expense of their health, who, however, for reasons of age and health, can no longer cope with problems and tasks of such complexity as those we are tackling at present. I ask myself why we do not bid farewell to these comrades in a dignified fashion (including the provision of financial security), why we do not make those who still want to work, and who are in good health, advisers, for example, or assistants in the sector in which they have worked and which they understand.

Those, however, who have been holding one and the same function for 20, 30, and some for even more years should leave their posts at any rate. The thesis of the so-called immutability of cadres is highly noxious, and we have had a chance to experience and study it on many occasions, not only in our party. These mistakes need to be set right, starting with the center and ending with primary organizations, and capable and productive cadres must gradually be assigned to the posts.

National Front Activities Detailed

Condemns 28 Oct Disturbance

AU0511152388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
3 Nov 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Presidium of the CSSR National Front Central Committee Holds Meeting; Strengthening Legality Is the Guarantee of the Further Development of Democracy"]

[Excerpt] Prague—At its session on Wednesday [2 November] the Presidium of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, presided over by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, discussed the course of the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the proclamation of the independent

Czechoslovak state. The culmination of the celebrations were numerous gatherings of citizens in our cities and villages, as well as mighty rallies of the working people and youth in Prague and Bratislava. At these rallies the Czechoslovak public spontaneously expressed its support for the policy of the CPCZ and the CSSR National Front, oriented toward a consistent comprehensive restructuring of society and development of socialist democracy.

In this connection, the Presidium emphatically condemned attempts to disturb the dignified course of the celebrations. It fully stands behind the resolute intervention of the security forces, which proceeded in accordance with valid laws and prevented actions by antisocialist elements. It declared that in the future one has to proceed from the fact that the development of socialist democracy has nothing in common with anarchy. The strengthening of socialist legality is the fundamental element of the guarantee of the further development of democracy, rights, and freedoms for all citizens.

In the presence of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec, the Presidium discussed the CSSR Government's draft program statement. After a fruitful discussion, in which all the representatives of political parties and social organizations of the National Front took part, the Presidium expressed its full support for the government draft statement. [passage omitted]

Dusek Reports Progress

LD0311234988 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1300 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] At today's session of the Czech National Front Central Committee Presidium, Central Committee Deputy Chairman Rudolf Dusek delivered a report on the progress of activating the bodies and organizations affiliated with the National Front.

He said that the activation was received very positively in general, but that some mass organizations saw it mainly as a task of the National Front bodies. There was some apprehension about the demanding character of the tasks. People also believe that the work of voluntary officials is not rated sufficiently high enough by society. The young people in bigger cities and housing developments are the most active.

Rudolf Dusek also praised the fact that the Czechoslovak People's Party and the Czechoslovak Socialist Party were among the first to adopt their own measures on implementation of the proposals directed at the activation of the National Front.

Speaking about election programs, he said that the findings of the National Front's bodies show the continuing problems in housing construction, in the provision of civic amenities, and in services. He emphasized that the important thing is to ensure that such programs are realistic.

Rudolf Dusek then emphasized the demand to reinforce the National Front's political position in the Czech Socialist Republic. He said that the Central Committee will concentrate in the next period mainly on democratization of society, problems of the environment, its share in the education of young people, scientific-technical advancement, social care, efforts to reinforce peace in the world and to develop international education, and social life in housing developments.

He emphasized the forms of work must involve a broad discussion, public meetings, and joint meetings on all levels more than ever before.

Jakes Meets With Central Committee

LD0411091488 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Today at a meeting presided over by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the National Front Central Committee, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak National Front assessed the course of the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the proclamation of the independent Czechoslovak state. The celebrations culminated in a number of public rallies in our towns and villages, and in mass rallies of workers and young people in Prague and Bratislava, at which the Czechoslovak public spontaneously expressed its support for the policy of the CPCZ and the National Front aimed at the consistent, comprehensive restructuring of society and the development of socialist democracy.

In this context, the Presidium of the National Front Central Committee emphatically condemned the attempts to disrupt the dignified course of the celebrations. It fully supports the resolute intervention of the security forces, which acted in accordance with the laws in force and put an end to the actions by antisocial elements. It declared that in the future, too, it must be assumed that the development of socialist democracy will have nothing in common with anarchy. The consolidation of the socialist rule of law is a fundamental plank in guaranteeing the further development of democracy and of the rights and freedoms of all citizens.

With Ladislav Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and federal premier, in attendance, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the National Front discussed the draft policy statement of the federal government. After a fruitful discussion in which all the representatives of the National Front's political parties and public organizations spoke, the Presidium voiced full support for the government's draft policy statement. It also recommended that consistent attention be paid to implementing the proposals aimed at activating the National Front and the organizations affiliated to it, and at increasing their involvement in shaping, implementing, and monitoring the policy. It also dealt with the material and technical conditions for the activity of the National Front bodies and the organization managed by it, and with education about the law and with the struggle against antisocial activity. It went on to discuss some further organizational matters.

Jakes Attends Prague Bridge Opening

LD0411091688 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Today Comrade Milos Jakes and other representatives attended a ceremony to open the Antonin Zapotocky Bridge under the Barrandov in Prague to traffic. The third statewide youth construction project Jizni Cesta [south way] has thus been completed. Comrade Vasil Mohorita addresed a meeting of its builders, stressing that with the opening to traffic of the Jizni Cesta the capital is receiving a new, modern main road. He praised the fact that the builders completed work 8 months ahead of schedule.

Central Committee Discusses Layoffs, Shortages

LD0711203288 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1500 GMT 7 Nov 88

[Text] The CPSL Central Committee Presidium today in Bratislava discussed a Slovak government report on how ministers and other heads of central authorities are fulfilling the tasks of reducing the number of employees in the state administration apparatus and placing laid-off employees in other posts. It instructed Communists in the Slovak Government to use the experience gained up to now and to intensify the qualitative supervision of the fulfillment of material tasks, which are linked with the restructuring of the central sphere.

The Presidium went on to discuss a summary report on the progress made in rebuilding organizational structures in the production, technological, scientific, research, and marketing base to set up state enterprises in Slovakia next January 1st. It then devoted attention to Slovakia's participation in the implementation of the Comprehensive Program of Scientific and Technological Progress of the CMEA Member States up to the Year 2000.

The CPSL Central Committee Presidium critically examined shortcomings in bread supplies to the public on 27 October before the extended holiday. It took note of the report submitted by the Slovak premier that appropriate measures had been taken against the persons responsible for the resulting situation.

New Long-Term CPCZ Program Being Prepared

AU0811084788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Nov 88 p 1

[Editorial: "The CPCZ Is Preparing a Long-Term Program"]

[Excerpts] The proposal that a CPCZ program be worked out has met with a positive response from the party public. The 10th CPCZ Central Committee Session set up a CPCZ Central Committee commission for the drafting of the program, the composition of which was published in RUDE PRAVO on Thursday, 20 October. The commission is headed by Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Such a program document has been lacking in our political practice to date. Understandably, there has been no lack of partial programs for the party, determining its activity for many years to come. [passage omitted]

As the leading force of socialist society, for its practical activity the party needs a long-term concept—in addition to the short-term, programmatic documents—and therefore it must strive in a scientific manner to foresee the future and grasp the main development trends, and it must do this in all spheres of society's life. [passage omitted]

The work on drafting our party's program is only at the initial stage; themes and ideas are being collated, solutions are being clarified. Therefore, it is premature to talk about the program's concept, and even less about its content. Nevertheless, today it is already clear that restructuring the economic mechanism, its further development, and the democratization of society will be the main axis of the program. [passage omitted]

The formulation of the CPCZ program will be preceded by a thorough, comprehensive analysis not only of the party's work, but of the entire political system, of the operation of the entire society, of the level of the national ecomomy, of the implementation of the strategy of accelerating economic and social development under conditions of the scientific-technical revolution, and of the situation in regard to the intensification of the national economy. After all, tasks and directions of comprehensive development can be set only after an objective and truthful analysis.

Already now it is obvious that the CPCZ program must be attractive for the whole party and the entire society, and must have a mobilizing character. People want and need to work and live with perspectives; they have always been interested and now too are interested not only in what exists now, but also in what will exist in the future. This is of particular importance for our young, up-and-coming generation. [passage omitted]

The CPCZ will conceive its program in such a way as to make it a program for all the people, a program of our entire socialist society. The idea of having the program released for broad public discussion before it is discussed and approved by the 18th CPCZ Congress is correct and logical.

Drafting the program will be a completely new task for our party, in which we will naturally rely on the tried-and-tested experience of the other fraternal parties, particularly in the USSR. [passage omitted]

Socialist Party Central Committee Meets 4 Nov

LD0411132488 Prague CTK in English 1301 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Text] Prague Nov 4 (CTK)—The state of the ideological and political work of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party was discussed at the 7th session of the party Central Committee here today.

Chairman of the Party and Deputy Chairman of the Federal Assembly Bohuslav Kucera in his opening address recalled the 70th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's foundation and condemned attempts to abuse this anniversary for anti-socialist actions harming the interests of the state. At the same time he pointed out the significance of the 1917 Great October Socialist Revolution for the birth of the Czechoslovak republic and its further development.

Bohuslav Kucera said that the party Presidium should submit to the 8th Central Committee session a proposal for the calling of the 10th National Conference of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party in 1991, i.e. one year before the current term of office expires.

A report of the party Presidium stressed inter alia that members of the party feel co-responsibility for ensuring that every Czechoslovak citizen will understand the inevitability of consistent implementation of the process of restructuring of society and will actively contribute to these tasks.

Party Work Committee in Czech SR Convenes

AU0311114888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Nov 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Session of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR"]

[Text] Prague—The Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR began its work on Monday, 31 October 1988. Its first session was attended by Karel Hoffmann, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Central Committee secretary.

The committee discussed the timetable of its main tasks in the fourth quarter of 1988. The issues to be dealt with in this period include the implementation of government measures to stabilize the domestic market in 1988-90; task accomplishment in the production of consumer goods by the JITEX enterprise in Pisek and the JITONA enterprise in Sobeslav; provisions for deliveries of foodstuffs and consumer goods to the Christmas market; an analysis of the causes for the lag in the preparation and realization of comprehensive housing construction in the Czech SR; the modernization program for industrial branches under government management in the Eighth 5-Year Plan, and the outlook for the Ninth 5-Year Plan; plan fulfillment in developing the national economy of the Czech SR in 1988; the tasks of the state plan for 1989; the Czech National Council's draft law on the 1989 state budget of the Czech SR; the analysis of the Czechoslovak education and upbringing system; and the progress of work on forecasting social and economic development on the territory of the Czech SR in the year 2010.

The committee assessed and approved the proposal to systematize the apparatus of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR, which will be chosen from among the CPCZ Central Committee staff dealing with party work in the central, state, and social agencies of the Czech SR. The committee took note of information about the organizational and cadre preparations for the plenary session of the National Front Central Committee of the Czech SR (to be held on 3 November 1988) and its contents.

The committee also took note of information about the provisions made to accomplish the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan with regard to comprehensive housing construction and the modernization of the housing stock, and the provisions for the smooth transition of our housing construction into the Ninth 5-Year Plan; it also took note of information about checking on the implementation of the 1986 program declaration of the Government of the Czech SR.

Change in Approach Toward Emigres Called For

AU0811131888 Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 4 Nov 88 p 2

[Dusan Spacil report on a discussion with Professor Antonin Robek, candidate of sciences on the staff of the Ethnography and Folklore Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, in the editorial office of the weekly SVET V OBRAZECH: "Emigres, Compatriots, and Others"—place and date not given]

[Excerpts] Professor Antonin Robek, Candidate of Sciences on the staff of the Ethnography and Folklore Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (CSAV), visited the editorial office of SVET V OBRAZECH. We have selected some interesting passages from his question-and-answer talk with editors Z. Hrabica, V. Husak, J. Ondrouch, D. Spacil, and other staff of the editorial office.

[Question] About 2.5 million Czechs and Slovaks are currently living abroad; they differ in their political views and social status. Do you think we should publish more information about their life and the work of their ethnic clubs?

[Robek] Yes, I do. However, this is not the only issue—we should also change our approach to these problems. For instance, at the time of the Spartacus games we had the Union of Representatives of Czech Clubs here for a conference; the topic was "The Czechs Abroad." At first nobody wanted to speak in the discussion; so, on the very first day we told them in detail what we had in mind. We found that they were afraid of being forced to make political statements. And sometimes we do require this. I myself have driven away a number of editors who wanted them to make statements against the emigres. You see, if we offer the ethnic organizations a free trip to this country for the Spartacus games, they will not accept because the emigres would immediately attack them, saying they had been bought. That is why they pay their own way and are prepared to do almost anything except speak about these issues. We cannot expect them to speak like aktivists—as soon as one of them does, the emigres brand him a traitor [zaprodanec] and a hireling. Even so, there is a point to our contacts with them. It is enough if they return home and say that people here do not have to go hungry, that the Czech countryside is beautiful, etc. In a way we must be generous, overlook disputes, and refrain from wrangling with them about trifles. Sometimes we are far too touchy without proper grounds, such as last year, when we had some Americans here who criticized our coffee for having "coffee grounds;" they drink Nescafe in America. But surely the fact that they criticized our coffee does not mean that they do not like Czechoslovakia as a whole! Or perhaps a waiter cheats a tourist and we start worrying that he could go off and write about it. Let us say he does—so what? Surely this does not mean that everybody in the CSSR is a thief.

Sometimes we are narrow-minded, declaring an embargo on people from abroad who could play a very positive role. We must tell the truth, without worrying that they might speak badly about us later. In fact, Vienna also has building sites that are not orderly; some of its districts are dirty. We can find negative phenomena in Paris, too; so why should we conceal ours? There is no point in covering things up because somebody is sure to write about some weakness of ours anyway; and, since his sources will be rather dubious, he will embellish the facts. Our adversaries are sly: 99 percent of their work is truth and 1 percent disinformation. People will verify things that can be verified, and swallow the 1 percent. On the other hand we in our country sometimes feel that our work is 99 percent empty phrases, and merely 1 percent facts.

[Question] I would like to hear about legal provisions for emigres in the world.

[Robek] [Passage omitted] Briefly, I can say that all states adopt measures to prevent a brain drain, since the state subsidizes most university-level studies. In view of the fact that medical studies cost several hundred thousand korunas, it is obvious that there must be some protective measures.

[Question] How are the members of the younger generation involved in the ethnic movement abroad? [passage omitted]

[Robek] [Passage omitted] The problem facing our compatriots' clubs is not how to prevent people from deserting the ranks, but how to bring the ethnic movement and their original fatherland closer to their young people. Nevertheless, even if the young were really to start leaving the ethnic organizations, their environment would force them to return.

[Question] Which of the compatriots' communities has the most interesting folklore?

[Robek] Old folklore is probably purest in Romania. [passage omitted]

[Question] Do some of our compatriots want to return here?

[Robek] Generally speaking, the number of immigration applications is large. The applicants are primarily people wanting to end their lives in our country. Sometimes it is difficult to say whether their reasoning is based on nostalgic reminiscences or on economic calculations. I would not dare guess the motives for any of these applications; however, if we persevere in our sensible propaganda, there will be thousands of people wanting to return to us. Of course, some people are living from hand to mouth—they have no savings, not even insurance. Perhaps they have become unemployed; they received unemployment benefits for a time, but later they found themselves without any means of subsistence. Such people would also return.

[Question] Why do you think that the post-August [1968] emigres are not coming back?

[Robek] The reasons are many. One of them is that a number of these people would be ashamed to return. Whenever a person leaves, closing the door behind him, he finds it difficult to return. These people are probably not so much afraid of consequences as they are concerned about prestige. Their parents in the CSSR say: Our son is in England; he is doing just fine. Whether this is true or not, it gives them a certain prestige. Another obstacle preventing their return lies in certain bureaucratic aspects. For instance, whenever a person emigrates, his apartment is confiscated. However, in Poland, for instance, they wait 3 years before they sell it. I think this is sensible; for sometimes it is only foolhardiness [nerozvaznost] which causes a person to emigrate.

Products' Insufficient Competitiveness Viewed

AU0211155488 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Oct 88 p 5

[Oldrich Chronc article in the "Science and Research" column: "Impetus for Exports"]

[Excerpts] Being successful on world markets is definitely not an easy matter. Improving the quality of products and accelerating innovations of higher orders have become the fundamental axis of trade strategy, and even a national program in a number of countries. [passage omitted]

In trade with the socialist countries during the 1981-86 period, the proportion of production which is the catalyst of scientific-technical development practically stagnated, a matter which is at variance with the development trends in world trade. The proportion of those products in exports as well as imports changed negligibly; in exports it reached roughly 21 percent, and in imports it only slightly exceeded the 13-percent mark. A certain positive result is that the surplus in the trade balance for this type of production rose slightly. However, from the viewpoint of the trade balance with individual countries, the results differ considerably. For example, the 57-percent growth in exports of technically advanced products to the GDR in the aforementioned period was accompanied by a substantially faster growth in the proportion of such production in our imports from the GDR (86.2 percent), which means that our trade deficit in the mutual exchange of these products increased. Our trade balance in this sphere of mutual goods exchange with Hungary and Bulgaria is developing in a similar way. The development in the export of technically advanced products to the USSR is particularly unfavorable. Until now, the pace at which such exports have grown has been slower than that of the overall exports to the USSR, and thus their share has been decreasing. The CSSR's position as a manufacturer of technically advanced products for the markets of the CEMA member countries has been considerably weakening in the course of the 1980's to date.

The slow pace and low level of innovations, together with the unsatisfactory level of applying the results of scientific-technical development and the inflexibility in the sphere of structural changes are also demonstrated in the overall stagnation of the proportion of technically advanced products in our exports to the nonsocialist countries. The trade deficit in the sphere of technically advanced production has considerably increased. That, by the way, also applies to the long-term development of our foreign trade in that sphere, where the proportion of final products in our exports is low and does not correspond to the structure of the Czechoslovak national economy. Above all, the proportion of machinery and equipment in exports is not in proportion with the capacities of our engineering complex. For the time being, we compensate for the considerable trade deficit in engineering by higher exports of consumer goods, foodstuffs, raw materials, and rolled steel. [passage omitted]

Criminal Records No Longer Required for Travel

LD0311235788 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] By agreement with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Interior Ministry has decided that with immediate effect, passport and visa departments will no longer require documentary evidence from the register of crimes [vypis z rejstriku trestu] to be submitted with applications for the issue of travel documents. This decision applies to all types of applications for the issue of travel documents.

50th Anniversary of Anti-Jewish Pogrom Marked

Honecker Decorates Jewish Citizens

LD0811143288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1021 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—This morning in Berlin, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, received members of the Presidium of Jewish Communities in the GDR and Jewish representatives from abroad. In recognition of their important work for peace, understanding, and cooperation between peoples, the State Council chairman bestowed high state honors. The honors ceremony in the gala hall of the State Council took place on the 50th anniversary of the fascist pogrom.

In an address, Erich Honecker lauded the great services by the persons and awarded the Order of the "Star of International Friendship" in gold and silver as well as patriotic service orders in gold and silver.

To mark the 50th anniversary of the night of the fascist pogrom, in the spirit of the joint antifascist legacy, a collection of 543 Judaic incunabula was turned over to the Jewish community of Berlin. The collection contains valuable early Berlin imprints in Hebrew, as well as religious, literary, and academic texts. Erich Honecker presented the document concerning the presentation, which he had signed, to Dr Peter Kirchner, chairman of the Jewish community of Berlin, president of the "New Berlin Synagogue-Centrum Judaicum" foundation, and vice president of the GDR Union of Jewish Communities. The remarks by the State Council chairman, which were translated into Hebrew, and the presentation of the collection were received by the participants at this ceremonial event with cordial applause.

A speech of thanks in the name of those honored on this day was given by Friedrich Broido, chairman of the Mecklenburg Jewish community.

After this, Erich Honecker invited his guests into the banquet hall of the official premises, where lively conversations were held with the host and with other members of the GDR party and state leadership.

Leaders at People's Chamber Session

LD0811155788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1315 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR People's Chamber convened this afternoon in Berlin for a special session on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the night of the fascist pogrom. At the beginning of the session, the deputies, with Erich Honecker, Willi Stoph, and Horst Sindermann in the center, as well as guests including representatives of Jewish organizations, institutions, and communities from home and abroad, stood for a period of silent remembrance. In this way they honored the millions of victims, including 6 million Jewish citizens, of the Nazi dictatorship. During the special session, commemorative speeches are being given by Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber, and Siegmund Rotstein, president of the Union of Jewish Communities in the GDR.

Honecker Addresses Ceremony

LD0811151588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1130 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Speech by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at an East Berlin ceremony to honor meritorious Jewish citizens on 8 November]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Esteemed Jewish fellow citizens, honored foreign guests, dear comrades in arms, friends and comrades, today the citizens of the GDR are commemorating the victims of the fascist pogroms 50 years ago. For us, the barbaric persecution and expulsion, and the bestial extinction of millions of Jewish lives, are a living admonition to be on guard at all times, and a constant commitment to a policy of humanism, international understanding, and peace. The path of suffering, which led 6 million Jewish people, including 1 million children, to an excruciating death remains unforgotten among our people. This ghastly event makes it an absolute requirement: never again racism, anti-Semitism, or the abasement of human beings.

Berlin, which was the point of origin of the ghoulish events 50 years ago, was for centuries the scene of violent clashes between progress and reaction. Two world wars caused large parts of Europe to be reduced to rubble. World War II, the most terrible war in the entire history of mankind, followed immediately upon the signal of the Jewish pogroms. Unspeakable suffering, disaster, distress, and death was brought by the fascist regime of murder and terror to many nations and also to its own people. Fifty million people fell victim to the bestial policy of planned genocide.

The flames of the synagogues became an appeal to the conscience of peoples and nations. The intention was for all antifascists to be affected by the horrific crimes of that night, for all opponents of the approaching barbarian war of pillage to be threatened and thrown into crippling resignation. But, as a result of the heroic struggle of the Soviet Union and the other states of the anti-Hitler coalition, it was possible to smash fascism.

On the ruins of the regime of injustice which was annihilated in the flames of World War II, there arose a new antifascist democratic order, and in its wake, a new socialist state, the GDR. This is the first state in German history which has no border or territorial claims on its neighbors, a state of progress, humanism, and peace. With this turning point, a new era dawned in the history of the German people and of Europe.

From the beginning of the birth and development of the GDR, the historical lessons, the legacy and its obligations, and the joint experiences of the antifascist struggle were elevated to irrevocable maxims of our state policy. The ideals and dreams of the best of the German people and of mankind over the centuries, the striving of all progressive, democractic, and humanistic forces regardless of their ideological, religious, or social ties, became the basis for action which united everyone.

In these days especially, there is reason to recall that the revolutionary German Workers' Movement at no time tolerated hatred of nations or races, anti-Semitism, or discrimination against dissidents in its ranks. At the turn of the century August Bebel castigated anti-Semitism as an attitude linked to the "lowest drives and instincts" which led to "moral turpitude".

The KPD persistently and imperturbably backed the true interests of the workers, the peasants, and indeed of all those in work during its 70-year history. Let it be mentioned that not a few members of the KPD came from Jewish families. Jewish workers, artists, and scientists including many internationally known personages, fought by our side in the ranks of the KPD.

As a consequence, in the prisons, the concentration camps, in resistance movements within the country and in exile, in the international brigades of the Spanish struggle for freedom, in the "Free Germany" National Committee, an alliance of all antifascists was forged which proved itself in the struggle against the brown pestilence, and which also helped Jewish citizens wherever this was possible. There were German Communists, and at their side, many honest Social Democrats, Christians, National Democrats, and members of other groups who courageoulsy and self-sacrificingly opposed fascist racial insanity and hatred who helped to protect the life of their Jewish comrades, and thus defended the honor of the German people.

It was the KPD, and its central organ THE RED FLAG, which without hesitation, and even while the pogroms were raging, stood out passionately and resolutely against this ignominy, and called on everyone finally to spike the guns of the murderous fury of the fascist executioners. Leading officials of the KPD unmasked the inhuman character of the fascist pogrom policy, laid bare its roots, and characterized it as the prelude to the facist war of pillage. In the statement of the KPD Central Committee, it was stated: "The struggle against pogroms of the Jews is for this reason an inseparable part of the German struggle for freedom and peace against the National Socialist dictatorship." Another article in THE RED FLAG stated: "The cause of Jews is the cause of peace, of freedom, and of humanity. One cannot fight with success for peace and freedom, without resolutely struggling against the fascist insanity."

In the hell of fascism we antifascists spelled the word humanity as solidarity. It was the encouraging, whispered word to the comrade who threatened to weaken, it was the piece of bread smuggled secretly into the Jewish camp, it was the saving of children from the reach of the brutalized guards.

We were naked among wolves, but superior to our tormentors. We had to be stronger than the night if there was to be a future for the German people. This Song of Humanity is an immense source of strength today, when it is necessary to defend the greatest possession of mankind, peace. Wholely in this spirit and true to our common vow "Never again war, never again fascism," we support a life characterized by the ideas of brotherhood, readiness for peace and capacity for peace, security, and social security.

In the fourth decade of the GDR'S existence it can be noted with complete justice that our people have used their historic chance in creating through hard work a socialist social order on indestructible antifascist foundations. The GDR has fulfilled honorably, sincerely, and to its utmost, its duty to eradicate fascism and its demon root and branch for ever. The aims of the common antifascist struggle became reality after the liberation of our people in our GDR as a secure home of humanism and peace, as a home for us all. The dissemination of racial hatred and hatred of peoples and warmongering have been made severely punishable offenses for ever through the GDR Constitution.

In our socialist society, in the towns and in the countryside, social security, the right to work, and education and solidarity, the basic principles of coexistence and reality in everyday life, have been resurrected—in the truest sense of the word—from the ruins.

Our country became a homeland for all those Jewish fellow-citizens who survived the fascist inferno or who came back to us after being emigrees. Many of them worked as activists of the first hour in building a new society. Respected, recognized, and honored, they performed lasting service for our socialist home country.

It is a part of the essence of the GDR's state policies that the growing generation is educated in the spirit of antifascism, to respect historical truths and historical responsibility. At the side of the older generation, the youth of the GDR contributed to building their socialist fatherland. An expression of this education is the way the youth of our country, young pioneers and members of the Free German Youth, are looking after Jewish cemeteries and memorials—especially in recent months.

Remembering the victims of Nazi barbarism gives me cause once again to stress that the eight Jewish communities in the GDR, joined together in one association, and citizens of the Jewish faith receive all the welfare, encouragement, and support of the socialist state as in the past. A worldwide visible symbol of remembrance and a reminder is the reconstruction of the "New Synagogue" on Oranburger Strasse in Berlin. It fills me with satisfaction that many outstanding personalities and institutions from home and abroad are cooperating committedly in many ways in this important work.

As an expression of esteem for the work of the Jewish community in Berlin, I present to its library a collection of 543 historically valuable books from many centuries, books which were only recently rediscovered by libraries in Berlin and which will find a dignified place in the Centrum Judaicum.

Honored guests, today's meeting gives me an opportunity, in recognition of the excellent working deeds and achievements in building an antifascist democratic society and building up socialism in the GDR, of honoring citizens of the Jewish faith with great state awards, and of expressing gratitude for for their proven loyality and readiness to act.

As a sign of esteem and in honor of decades-long activity for international friendship and understanding, for peace and solidarity between peoples, I present outstanding personalities of the Jewish world movement the order of the "Star of International Friendship" and Fatherland orders of merit.

On behalf of the State Council, the GDR Government, and in my own name, I congratulate those decorated with all my heart. I wish them further success, pleasure, health, and happiness in the struggle for a peaceful world.

Sindermann Recalls 1938 Events

LD0911000188 East Berlin Television Service in German 1304 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Address by Horst Sindermann, member of the SED Politburo and deputy chairman of the State Council, to the special GDR People's Chamber session in East Berlin—live]

[Text] Esteemed deputies of the GDR People's Chamber, esteemed guests from the GDR and from abroad: From the evening of 9 November 1938 until the morning of 10 November roaring Nazi-fascists were raging through German cities and communities. That night the flames of 283 Jewish synagogues blazed up to the sky. In the cold of that night the broken pieces of more than 7,000 Jewish shops were rattling—it was an orgy of destruction. There were 91 people lying in the streets with their heads bashed in and their bodies walked all over. More than 30,000 citizens were driven together by raging SS and SA thugs; 22,000 of them were deported to concentration camps. A dreadful call sounded through the night, croaking and croaking—Jew, to hell with you!

All that happened on German territory, where Goethe, Schiller, Beethoven, and Bach have expressed their noble feelings of humanity in grand works of art; where Marx and Engels proclaimed the great vision of a liberated mankind; where all groups and individuals recognize truth, justice, and morality as the guidelines of their behavior toward each other and toward all people regardless of color, faith, or nationality—that is how Karl Marx put it.

That bloody night alone, that night of the pogrom in 1938, dragged through the mud everything that had ever been thought and taught by German humanists—Immanuel Kant's philosophy, which demanded human dignity as the superior goal of all human acting; the confession by the great German freedom fighter Johann Gottlieb Fichte which proclaims the equality of all those who have a human face. What a plunge downward from the Germany of humanism toward the Germany of fascism!

The fascists disseminated a theory of dividing the races against all confessions favoring German humanism, the dignity of man, and keeping up humanity—they divided the people into a master race and into a race of subhuman creatures: the so-called race of the Aryans, who were permitted to rule, and the non-Aryans, who had to be ruled over. Within that unscientific theory of the races, anti-Semitism provided the main argument toward exterminating the Jews physically. The ideologists of the myth of the 20th century demonstrated in practice what this more highly-developed race of masters should be like, the race that would triumph over those subhuman creatures. The subtle poetry of Heinrich Heine was to give way to that killer- language of a Heinrich Himmler. Heine, who treated the German language in a way which refined it to its best, was declared to be an enemy of Germanness. Himmler, who history only knows as someone who was able to prepare death sentences, was praised as the true representative of real Germanness. What a theory! What a distortion of the image of man! Heinrich Mann wrote about the Jewish pogrom: For the first time everybody can see what kind of hell that regime would have made of civilized mankind if it went on contaminating it with its ideology.

The November 1938 pogrom was the expression of the fact that all intellectual things must give way to nonintellectual things; that what the human intellect had brought about in terms of noble and beautiful things should be smashed so that the filth could rule over Germany.

Following the night of the pogrom, when the result of that shame was reported to Hitler, he said that the people's inner voice began slowly to yell for violence. To the Nazis, that yelling was sort of a final rehearsal before murdering 6 million Jews, and before murdering European peoples in the end.

The German people were forced to get used to manslaughter, murder, and arson. Having one's hands covered with blood—human blood—was part of creating the German empire. After all, it was the blood of an inferior race destined for total eradication. These perverted views were spread by the Nazis, because Jewish pogroms were to follow. As Rosa Luxemburg wrote in a letter from prison as early as 1917: It took an atmosphere of vileness, cowardice, reaction, and mindlessness. Anti-Semitism as the crucial element of the fascists's racist theories meant disdaining fellow members of the human race and denying them any value, for they would have to be killed by the millions so that German imperialism could rule the world.

German working class leaders realized the nature of anti-Semitism as a means of defending ruling class interests and consistently stood by the Jewish population. Referring to the thoughts of Marx and Engels, August Bebel wrote in 1906: Anti-Semitism today is used by various bourgeois parties and individuals as a valve to divert attention from their own ways of acting that are hostile to the people. Hatred focused on the Jews masks all kind of malicious actions that they themselves commit. Refuting bourgeois ideas of exploitation by the Jews, it was Lenin who said in 1919 that it is not the Jews but the world's capitalists who constitute the enemy of the working class. Among the ranks of the Jews there are many workers—most of them do in fact belong to the working class. In terms of capitalist suppression, they are our brothers and they are our comrades in the fight for socialism. That is why, although confined to illegal actions, the German Communist Party's Central Committee did not hesitate in November 1938 to raise its voice, the voice of the German proletariat, in order to speak out against the shameful pogroms. A German Communist Party Central Committee statement on the pogroms says that in line with German workers movement's proud traditions and in the true spirit of the greatest German poets and philosophers, the German Communist Party speaks out against Hitler's Jewish pogroms which have brought shame on German honor all over the world. It was this document that called upon the German working class and the entire German people to stand up and fight these pogroms and to demonstrate their solidarity with the tormented Jewish population. The document also characterized the fight against fascist pogroms as an inseparable element of the German fight for peace and freedom and against Nazi dictatorship.

Here, before our socialist German state's supreme legislative body it is our duty to recall our state founders' reactions to the fascist pogroms. Our first president, Wilhelm Pieck, wrote in 1938: Germany's working population, with the working class in particular and the Communists taking the lead, not only rejects stirring hatred against the Jews but feels bound in solidarity with the persecuted Jewish population and considers their defense a way to preserve its own interests. Walter Ulbricht wrote in 1938: The ban of German Jews from cultural life is to pave the way for the fascist rubbish in literature, film, and theatre. Stirring up hatred against the Jews is tantamount to destroying any progressive literature, for today those flaming words of freedom by Schiller and Goethe, Lessing and Fichte are more powerful then anything Goebbels or Rosenberg may say. The same consistency is to be found in the words of Otto Grotewohl, Otto Nuschke, Wilhelm Kuelz, who all dauntlessly defied fascist anti-Semitism. It was Wilhelm Kuelz who called anti-Semitism the greatest shame of our century. Lothar Bolz, who joined the fight against Hitler's Germany in Soviet emigration, was always among the first when it came to defending human dignity. They were the founders of our parties and our antifascist democratic state and they also were among the first delegates to our People's Chamber. We are here today with a dignified body of our people that continues to hallow the great ideas of our state founders.

It was in this spirit that our head of state Erich Honecker met with World Jewish Council President Edgar Miles Bronfman, who attested the sincere and responsible way of dealing with history in the GDR.

The talks between the chairman of the GDR State Council and Dr Heinz Galinski, chairman of the Central Jewish Council in Germany, and Mr Sigmund Rotstein—to whom we express our respects for his active involvement as president of the Jewish communities in the GDR—were cordial and very constructive.

We do not need the blessing of being born late to have a clear conscience to the world. We stand in the tradition of the antifascist fight, yesterday, today, and tomorrow. Those who have looked into the eyes of our youngest citizens during the FDJ honoring demonstration for the victims of the pogrom night a few days ago in the former Ravensbrueck concentration camp, who have seen their selfless action in taking care of Jewish graves, who have seen their respectful dealing with veterans and antifascists, those people feel and know that our young people will forever honor the antifascist heritage.

A wonderful sentence comes from Albert Einstein, the most profiled scientist of our century whom the Nazis considered a Jewish underdog. He says in his confession to Jewishness: As long as we remain obedient servants of truth, justice, and freedom, we will not only continue to exist as one of the oldest cultural people alive, but we will as before create values through productive work; values that will contribute to cultivating man. All our respect belongs to the goal to create values for the cultivation of man. How would man vegetate under conditions of exploitation, oppression, and condemnation to ignorance had there not been people whose knowledge, research activity, and cultural activity caused man to lift his head, to follow his renewed curiosity, and to feel that he is a man again.

When we think of the pogrom days, we must think of those Jewish people who have shaped the human culture and who have created immortal values. One could name thousands of Jews of German history who have left eternal values to our people, values we will always carry in our hearts and souls.

For us the name and the work of Karl Marx stand as an unshakable foundation of our fight for the benefit of the people, for peace among the people, and for the happiness of the people. Of the 20 German Nobel prize winners 12 were of Jewish origin before the pogrom night.

We think of the Jewish intelligentsia of German nationality that has considerably contributed to the development of German national culture, and that has increased the glory and reputation of German culture and science. The list of internationally renowned scientists, physicians, authors, actors, theater managers, musicians, and painters is too long to name all the individuals. We limit ourselves here to honoring just a few to whom we are most closely connected such as Hans Eisler, the composer of our national anthem, Anna Seghers, the much esteemed president of our Writers' Association. Stefan Zweig, Leon Feuchtwanger, Lin Jaldati, our Comrade Lea Grundig, Peter Edel, Leo Haas—they all have enriched us with their works, they have given us so much beauty.

Our anti-fascist position connected us in a wonderful fighting alliance against everything inhuman and for everything that elevates man. If we express on this day of commemoration of the victims of the pogrom night our disgust for fascist barbarism, we point to the fascist equalization of Jews and communists in the entire Nazi propaganda. That was before 1933.

Jews and Communists were forbidden to attend Nazi events, even though both had no intention of going to such functions. The Hitler fascists yelled out the most foolish slogans about Jewish Bolshevisim, about Jewish world conspiracy, which, of course, had its center in Moscow.

However, as early as 1922 Wilhelm Pieck said the Prussian regional assembly, following the killing of Matthias Erzberger, a bourgeois Democrat, that it is in fact typical that fascism, the counterrevolutionary movement, emphasizes two slogans very strongly, which are: Against Bolshevism, and against Judaism. These slogans were an attempt to deceive people as to the fascists' true intentions. These words that Wilhelm Pieck said in November 1922, indeed prove that the Communists, in their strategy and tactics, understood the rejection of anti-Semitism to be an inseparable element of the struggle to defend the people's social and democratic interests.

Marxism teaches history to be a succession of class conflicts. The Nazis faked it into a history of race conflicts. Scientific socialism's findings stood in the way of the dissemination of the demon of the myth of the blood. Therefore, they had to link their hatred against Judaism with the struggle against scientific socialism. Their primitive propaganda about Marx being the proclaimer of the Jewish world conspiracy or that Moscow was the center of Marxist policy meant for them that Moscow was at the same time the center of world Judaism.

German Nazi propaganda used such simple methods to explain the policy of fascism to the German petit bourgeois, to the nonenlightened worker, and to the rural people. The Reichstag fire in February 1933 fits well into that explanation; it was said to have been lit by the Communists. So does the arrest of tens of thousands of Communists, Social Democrats, and bourgeois humanists in the wake of the Reichstag fire. Apart from the German working class leader Ernst Thaelmann, the humanist Kurt Tucholsky was persecuted. The representative of the German working class was killed, and the valiant humanist was driven to death. Whoever had a sense of decency, whoever advocated honest attitudes and humanity had to be removed.

A character for the Aryan master race was needed, which could fit into work as a concentration camp guard, into work as a slaughterer in Oradour and Lidice, and who blinded by anti-Communist hate, was to attack the Soviet people in the end. Only with the murderers in the night of the pogrom and the murderers in the concentration camps was it possible to start the great mass murder of the Soviet people.

At the time, it was only the Communists who unmasked anti-Semitism to be concurrently anti-Communism. Of course, it would be wrong to mention the Communists alone as anti-fascists. During the struggle against Nazi-barbarism, they joined together with the Social Democrats. Many Christian citizens, Catholics and Protestants, opposed fascism with courage, and supported tortured Jews in the name of Christian charity. Names like clergyman Niemoeller, cathedral dean Lichtenberg, or priest Schneider are mentioned by us with the utmost respect.

What we must establish is the fact that anti-Semitism is unfamiliar to the working class's world view; that it is, as a reactionary world view, an enemy, an irreconcialable enemy to socialism.

In 1894, August Bebel issued his publication "Social Democrats and anti-Semitism." That was in 1894, at that time the whole bourgeois society was stuck deep in hostility toward the Jews. The Nazis were raging in Germany—dreadfully and for much too long. That must not make us overlook the resistance against fascism. That resistance was powerful. It was always present and it cost hecatombs of blood to the progressive part of Germany. Among those who, together with us, offered resistance to that barbarism were many Jews, particularly young Jewish Communists.

When we talk about them, then we talk about our brothers in the struggle who held their ground to a double repression, that is as Communists and as Jews. We will never forget the struggle by the Baum group which set fire to an anti-Soviet exhibition in Berlin, because it could no longer stand the lie that was put over all of Germany like a veil.

The lie concerning the Soviet Union is the lie about the guilt for the outbreak of the war. Even today, there are so-called historians who tend to minimize poor fascism as a mere victim of attack. How much superior were those young Jewish Communists around Herbert Baum back then, compared to today's Kremlin astrologers. Side-by-side with Herbert Baum's brother Bruno, Comrade Erich Honecker faced trial at the People's Court. The young Communist and non-Aryans Bruno Baum and Sara Fedorovna were sentenced to long terms in prison by the so-called People's Court's blood judges for being Communists. They were Communists who jointly stood up to fascism and in that fascist night provided a beacon brightening the steep and stony way toward new shores. German antifascists and German Jews were to be found in all German prisons and concentration camps, with many of them having worked together in illegal resistance before. We will never forget the bravery with which our Jewish friends and comrades in combat defied the Nazi terror.

With their relatives largely in prison, receiving news for them often meant being notified of their gassing. Gassing, destroying, eliminating—those were the executioners' most common words.

Our unabated optimism, however, lived on the German Communist Party's statement according to which the final liberation from the shameful fascist pogroms would coincide with the German People's liberation from the Brownshirts' barbarism. And when the German people were eventually freed from that barbarism, our antifascist humanism proved a solid foundation for the cooperation of all peaceful-minded forces in our workers' and peasants' state. And that, we swear, will never change.

Celebrating our liberation from fascism, we pledged not to rest and to bear fascist terror in mind until all root causes of the war have been cleared and hatred among the nations has given way to love. Whoever sincerely strives for this sublime objective, has to fight anything that is threatening mankind today, such as the mass destruction weapons that have to be removed from this earth. In order to leave no country in the position to attack another, the non-aggressive character of our armies is an essential requirement of our time. For the benefit of all mankind, the demon of confrontation will have to give way to the peoples' and nations' peaceful cooperation. Whoever sincerely strives for this sublime objective, has to remove all sources of conflict, which may soon set the entire world ablaze if we fail to halt them in time. One of these conflicts is the one raging in the Middle East, which can only be solved if both the Israeli and Palestinian peoples are granted the right of sovereignty as is envisaged in the United Nations' resolution. It is on this very day of the commemoration of the victims of the 1938 pogrom night that we speak out for the peaceful coexistence of all nations and simultaneously recall the commandment from Jewish teachings that says: Remember and never forget.

Commemorative Concert Held

LD0911000988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1943 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Text] A commemorative concert was held at the Schauspielhaus in Berlin on 8 November to commemorate the Jewish victims of the night of the fascist pogrom 50 years ago.

The GDR minister of culture, Dr Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, invited Hermann Axen, Werner Jarowinsky, and Guenter Schabowski, members of the Politburo and secretaries of the SED Central Committee; the first secretary of the Berlin SED Bezirk [area] Executive; Prof Lothar Kolditz, president of the National Council of the National Front; Rudolph Schulze and Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Erhard Krack, mayor of Berlin; Dr Peter Kirchner, vice president of the Union of Jewish Communities in the GDR and chairman of the Berlin Jewish community; other representatives of public and artistic life in the GDR; and Gerhart M. Riegner, honorary president of the World Jewish Congress.

Immortal works of the long tradition of Jewish music were played in the concert of commemoration and admonition.

Honecker, Leaders Lay Wreaths

LD0911114288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0842 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At a wreath-laying ceremony at the socialists' memorial in Berlin-Friedrichsfelde to mark the 70th anniversary of the November revolution, the GDR today honored the heroes of what was up until that point the most significant mass action in Germany against imperialism and war. At the graves of Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, and many other fighters for socialism and peace, who were murdered by the forces of reaction in the storms of the 1918-19 revolution, who kept alive their legacy in the dark night of fascism, or who became the masterbuilders of the first socialist state on German soil, Erich Honecker and other party members and state leaders lay wreaths. Thousands of working people from the GDR capital joined them.

West Berlin Jewish Community Head Interviewed

AU0811123588 [Editorial Report] East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German on 5-6 November on page 4, under the headline "The Hopes for Reason Are Justified," carries a 2,000-word interview with Heinz

Galinski, chairman of the board of directors of the FRG Central Council of Jews in Germany and chairman of the West Berlin Jewish community, by Ruediger Raetzke.

In the introductory paragraph, BERLINER ZEITUNG praises Galinski as a "tireless admonisher and incurruptible guardian."

Discussing his meeting with SED General Secretary Honecker, Galinski says that he considers this meeting "a historic moment" and that he was "deeply impressed and moved." He notes that "there was no diplomatic distance as one might have expected from a head of state and party leaders, but rather that human warmth and honesty were forthcoming." In the meantime, Galinski has also held further talks with other GDR representatives, such as the state secretary for church affairs and the chairman of the GDR National Jewish Representation, he says.

Galinski also states that the "Jews are linked by a common past. The fact that today we live here or there, in the West or in the East, is coincidence, but we are linked by a common fate." He affirms that the "antifascist legacy, the legacy of the victims of fascism, of the more than 6 million Jews who were killed, will always be a question of political ethics in the GDR." He notes that he will participate in a special People's Chamber session on 8 November and will speak at a memorial event in the German Theater on 9 November. On 10 November he will participate in the special Bundestag session.

After a summary of his experiences during the war and in the postwar period, Galinski is asked about his current activities. He says, inter alia: "When today I feel compelled all too frequently to speak up, this happens because others keep silent, because responsible politicians are playing down the dangers of neo-Nazism and because historians are distorting history.... My vigilance concerns all these—no matter whether they are in the East or in the West—who wish the past to return. Both German states are responsible for the past and, much more so, for the present."

Discussing the commemoration of the events of 1938, Galinski says in conclusion: "Perhaps these days of commemoration and remembrance give rise to an even broader process of rethinking which will lead to peace and understanding. I hope the policy of reason will be strengthened and the group of reasonable people will grow, and I can say: The hopes are justified."

'Overwhelming' Bush Victory Reported

LD0911092688 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] The question of who will be the next U.S. president was answered at dawn today. The majority of electors voted for George Bush. Listen to a report by Gyorgy Bolgar from New York:

[Begin Bolgar recording] An overwhelming victory for Bush, but an honorable defeat for Dukakis—this is roughly how the U.S. presidential election result can be summed up. Therefore, in accordance with expectations, the current vice president, the Republican Party's candidate, will be the United States' new, 41st, president. Bush received 54 percent of the votes; Dukakis got 46 per cent.

The reason the Democratic candidate's defeat can nevertheless be called honorable is that many people counted on a knock-out [kiutes]—that Dukakis would obtain a majority in only one or two states. However, this did not happen because, at least according to statistics so far, he obtained a majority in nine states. Moreover, the Democrats performed expressly well in the elections for the House of Representatives and part of the Senate. In both houses they maintained, indeed increased, their majority, which obviously will make things difficult for the new president.

However, he will be the U.S. president as of 20 January—finally, not merely a high-ranking public official, but the number one shaper of the policy of a big power. He will be a president who, on the one hand, would like to continue Reaganite economic policy naturally, together with the upswing that has lasted six years and, on the other hand, a president who would like to continue Reaganite foreign policy. Thus, along with maintaining military strength, he would like to negotiate and come to an agreement with the Soviet Union.

There is a chance for this to the extent that Gorgiy Arbatov, director of the Soviet Institute on U.S. Research, said a short time ago on NBC Television that in his opinion, a Soviet-U.S. summit could be expected soon after Bush takes office. [end recording]

Correspondents View Bush Victory

LD0911114688 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0545 GMT 9 Nov 88

[From the "Morning Dialogue" program]

[Text] [Announcer] George Bush is the 41st U.S. president. Gyorgy Bolgar, Hungarian Radio's New York correspondent, is on the line. My question is: What can the United States and the world expect based on Bush's campaign speeches?

[Bolgar] I think the United States and the world expect predictability from the U.S. president. Obviously, that is why the majority at home voted for him, in a proportion of 54 to 46. They would like the Reaganite economic upswing that has taken place over the past 6 years, bringing improved living standards for the majority, to continue. It is another matter that not many signs of this exist because it seems probable that U.S. economic growth will slow down or even stop entirely next year. The state debt has accumulated over the Reagan years; the budget deficit in 1 year is roughly $150 billion.

As far as the world is concerned, the primary viewpoint is predictability. It is good for everyone when they know who they are facing, especially if this person is the leader of the world's No.1 big capitalist power. Throughout his election campaign Bush emphasized that he wishes to continue the foreign policy pursued by Reagan over the past years. He always underlined that he is the one who is able to negotiate with Gorbachev; he is the one who is able to negotiate with the NATO allies, as he has done in the past years, as well. He is the one who has experience, and in the final analysis, he wants the same thing as Reagan—that is, new agreements, new arms limitation agreements with the Soviet Union on the basis of military strength.

[Announcer] When Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers, was in the United States in the summer, he also met George Bush. Bush affirmed that he wishes to continue the Reaganite policy with the socialist countries, thus he seeks an expansion of relations. And during a discussion with Karoly Grosz, he said he naturally wants to expand relations with Hungary. As I recall, he even said that he devotes particular attention to a strengthening of Hungarian-U.S. relations. In recent days, what kinds of references have there been to this? Have there been references?

[Bolgar] Eastern Europe did not play a role of the first order. I even must say that neither did it play a second- or third-order role in the election campaign. Insofar as there was talk of foreign policy, the primary issue here was the relationship with the Soviet Union, and secondly, the regions near the United States: Latin America, and first and foremost, Nicaragua—support or nonsupport for the Nicaraguan antigovernment forces. From this viewpoint I believe that Eastern Europe was neither a force with the weight of a vote, nor did it lose votes for either side.

Allow me to add that I would not like to give a mistaken impression: Dukakis also represented a similar policy toward the Soviet Union, and toward the East European countries, the socialist countries, generally. He said that he also seeks agreements. The difference, perhaps, was that he emphasized the role of strength to a lesser extent. To be sure, he wanted to cut back, eliminate certain types of weapons from the U.S. Army's arsenal.

[Announcer] Before Gyorgy Bolgar, Elemer Csak reported from New York for Hungarian Radio. What elements of the relationship to the Soviet Union and the East European socialist countries were there in Bush's earlier statements? You followed these there; when did these appear in a more pronounced manner?

[Csak] Reagan, and Bush with him, have made an enormous journey since 1983, when the U.S. President still called the Soviet Union the devil's empire. The turnabout, the change, occurred in the final phase of the 8 years, most recently in the past 18 months to 2 years. As my colleague has said, Bush presumably wishes to continue this line.

It ought to be added that in the event of a possible Democratic president, it would have been possible to count on unexpected turnabouts because after the Republican administration, no matter who he might have been, a Democratic president would have been compelled to prove himself to the right wing, and to take over from the right, if you like. For this reason, the world rightly was worried if—perhaps I may dare to use this expression—an unknown, a Democratic politician were to have become the new U.S. president. Therefore, from this viewpoint, the person of Bush really appears to be reassuring.

What I expect is that Bush will be compelled to make changes in Reagan's [word indistinct] in economic policy, primarily at home. Namely, he is the one who should be most familiar with the size of the stock of debts that has accumulated in the past 8 years of the U.S. administration. According to certain figures, this is $2 trillion, more than since the founding of the United States, compared overall. This has to be solved, sooner or later, because it is not possible to continue in this way. Therefore, it was in vain that Bush promised he would not raise taxes, that he would maintain the basic pillars of Reagan's economic policy. I very much expect that Bush will make changes.

[Announcer] Gyorgy Bolgar, do you have anything to add?

[Bolgar] Yes, two things. One is that this state debt is not $2 trillion, but $2.6 trillion, indeed, it is increasing even as we speak, by $8 million per minute, I believe. So it is an astounding figure, it is not even possible to size it up.

The other thing is that I agree: It really is necessary for Bush to think over, even if more than once or twice, what the new U.S. economic policy should be. However, he will have a very difficult time since here, in the campaign, he said 100 or 1,000 times that he would not raise taxes. It became a household word that he said in one of his speeches: Read my lips—there will be no new taxes. Now it will be terribly difficult to change this after a month, or even a year.

[Announcer] Thank you for the conversation.

MSZMP's Szuros Criticizes Romania

AU0811143888 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 8 Nov 88 p 12

[Interview with Matyas Szuros, MSZMP Central Committee secretary, after his meeting with Romania's Ceausescu "in late September," by Olaf Ihlau in Budapest: "Today, All of Europe Stands Against Romania"—date not given]

[Text] [SZ]: Mr Szuros, the tension in your conflict with Romania over the national minorities does not seem to be easing up. After your recent meeting with Ceausescu, you described the situation as rather hopeless. What is going to happen next?

[Szuros]: We are still hoping to be able to reestablish good-neighborly relations, to solve controversial questions through patient negotiations, and to introduce a mechanism of negotiations. However, we do not have any illusions about this. Moreover, it is not just a purely Hungarian-Romanian conflict, but virtually a matter of the destruction of European culture, of certain elements in the policy of Romania, which is playing a destabilizing role in Europe. It is hardly conceivable that all of Europe should err in connection with Romania.

[SZ]: According to the Romanian party organ SCINTEIA, you are the one who has distorted the agreements of the Hungarian-Romanian meeting in Arad in an "arrogant tone." [Szuros]: They do not like me, because we have changed our former political tactics. The negotiations used to be closed negotiations, the public never knew for what we stood. Two years ago, this changed: We advocate in public what we discuss in our negotiations, which has drawn the world's attention to this conflict and to Romanian policy. This publicity and the international solidarity that has sided with us are the main things that disturb the Romanian leadership.

[SZ]: But how can you negotiate when the other side does not make any moves?

[Szuros]: I want to get this straight: Hungary has no problems with the Romanian people, but with certain features of Romanian policy. For more than 1,000 years, we have lived with the Romanians in this area and would like to continue to do so in the future, together, in peace and friendship. However, after my last visit to Bucharest I simply cannot be optimistic. It again became obvious that the Romanian leadership is following a concept that is intended to establish a homogenized national state which leaves no room for national minorities and deprives them of equal opportunities.

[SZ]: But you have known this since 1972, when Ceausescu supported the gradual incorporation, and thus assimilation, of nationalities within the "higher" socialist nation. Why have your protests come so late?

[Szuros]: This is correct; we did know it before. However, we thought that there would be different periods in Romanian policy, at least, this was our hope. Moreover, some dramatic events have occurred only recently: The Hungarians who live in Transylvania were suddenly renamed "Hungarian-speaking Romanians;" last March, President Ceausescu announced the beginning of his bulldozer policy in the villages; and we have faced a huge refugee problem. Then it was only natural that we made our concern public.

[SZ]: With regard to the land reform, the Romanians are now trying to calm the situation, and they feel that they have been misunderstood. Do you have any information about the number of Hungarian villages that are on the blacklist?

[Szuros]: No, but this is not necessary for an assessment of the situation. The entire village destruction program is inhuman by its very nature and is directed against national minorities and European culture. Now, we must not be deceived by Romanian appeasement maneuvers. Moreover, this plan is only one part, even though a very dangerous one, of Romania's policy of assimilation, a policy that is unprecedented in Europe.

[SZ]: Would you regard it as advisable if Hungary, the FRG, Austria, and the SFRY, in other words those countries that claim a role as the advocate of the national minorities in Romania, were to cooperate more closely and step up pressure on Romania, for example by joint initiatives within the framework of the CSCE follow-up meetings?

[Szuros]: This kind of solidarity is urgently called for, because it concerns the fate of hundreds of thousands of Germans and others, as well as that of more than 2 million Hungarians. We need this increased cooperation from a moral, political, and economic point of view, and we should discuss this topic in international forums as a matter of principle. Fortunately, this has been done by several governments, parliaments, and organizations.

[SZ]: Is it possible that the Vienna CSCE Conference will be concluded without a satisfying agreement on the problem of minorities?

[Szuros]: A reasonable compromise could be found. We certainly do not want to block the conclusion of the CSCE. However, we will do everything to make sure that constructive standpoints are worked out in this sphere. The ultimate objective has to be laying down the individual and collective rights of national minorities as a part of International Law.

[SZ]: Some experts on Romania say that the great leader Ceausescu is living in a dream world and is not accessible for advice, and that pressure is only counterproductive.

[Szuros]: I am also of the opinion that a country's policy cannot be changed from outside. However, it can be influenced, there is no doubt about that. International reaction has greatly irritated the Romanian leadership. If certain phenomena in Romanian policy are criticized in both East and West, this will not remain without consequences, a fact I already noticed during my talks in Bucharest. Romania cannot simply remain indifferent to comments on this by the FRG, SFRY, Austria, Finland, the European Parliament, or the United States Senate; even the USSR has voiced its opinion...

[SZ]: ... in a very moderate manner, due to nationality problems at home....

[Szuros]: True, but it has been discussed in public and in the press in the USSR. Besides, we do not know what Gorbachev and Ceausescu negotiated at their recent meeting in Moscow. Today, all of Europe stands against Romania. It is not our objective to isolate our neighbor and ally, but through its policy Romania is isolating itself.

[SZ]: Both politically and economically, the USSR is probably the only country that could exert effective pressure on Romania.

[Szuros]: Romania has been influenced by the spirit of USSR policy for a long time. As modern concepts, perestroyka and glasnost will have an effect on Romania. Nobody who honestly wants socialism to continue to exist and who want the socialist community to be strengthened can resist a reform of socialism. We sympathize with Gorbachev and have our fingers crossed for him. For mankind as a whole, it is important that his policy is successful. In this context, we also see Chancellor Kohl's recent visit to Moscow. However, Romania is trying to obstruct this development...

[SZ]: ... this is putting you on slippery ground.

[Szuros]: To prevent any misunderstanding: We have never sympathized with the so-called Brezhnev Doctrine (of limited sovereignty on the part of socialist states—the editors). We do not want a revival of this doctrine—not even with regard to Soviet-Romanian relations. We do not want the big ones to tell the small ones what they have to do. In both East and West, the principle of sovereignty and independence of all states has to prevail.

However, I do not want to evade your answer. I mentioned that European interests are being violated. Everybody must have the right to express what bothers him, and if somebody violates human rights in Europe, he has to be accused of that. We support a human rights conference in Moscow, following the conclusion of the Vienna CSCE Conference. Of course, this implies certain demands.

[SZ]: Do you want to discuss the subject of Romania at this conference in Moscow?

[Szuros]: A human rights conference will be unable to leave the question of national minorities untouched. In what way this will happen in Moscow remains to be seen.

[SZ]: You mentioned the refugee problem. How many refugees have come from Romania to Hungary this year?

[Szuros]: Some 20,000 up to now; 10,000 of whom have already received residence permits—and more refugees are coming. More than 90 percent are Hungarians.

[SZ]: Are refugees permitted to travel to other countries?

[Szuros]: If they receive the necessary papers, no problem. However, this is not so easy any more. Besides, we support the reduction of the flow of refugees by improving living conditions in Romania. If we were successful in this respect, only some people would leave their home country.

[SZ]: Then you are probably not too enthusiastic about Bonn's practice of buying ethnic Germans from Romania.

[Szuros]: We understand that this is an emergency solution. The situation of Germans in Transylvania is different from that of the 2 million Hungarians there. Moreover, the FRG has completely different possibilities than those of Hungary. It is certainly not the best method. It would be nicer to provide for an improvement of the living conditions in Romania.

[SZ]: With all respect for Hungary's current support for national minorities, did not Hungary itself treat its own minorities—for instance, the Germans—rather badly in the past?

[Szuros]: This is not true. For 30 years we have been trying to pursue a positive nationality policy that ensures equal rights for minorities. Certainly, a few things could have been done better. Besides, there were financial bottlenecks as far as providing schools, teachers, and books in the people's mother tongues, were concerned. Today, cooperation with the FRG is very good in this respect. Next year a new nationality law is to extend these rights. Unlike in Romania, nationalism has certainly not been raised to the level of official policy in Hungary.

Central Committee Outlines Domestic Situation

AU0811092888 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Nov 88 pp 3-4

[Position of the MSZMP Central Committee issued at the conclusion of the recent MSZMP Central Committee session held from 1 to 2 November: "The MSZMP CC Position on Domestic Policy Situation And the Party Tasks"]

[Text]

I

1. The MSZMP national party conference held from 20 to 22 May 1988 decided on a comprehensive change in our economic and political system and a renewal of socialism: It decided on the creation of the conditions for an efficient socialist market economy that is well adapted to the world economy and on the democratic modification of our political institutions. To achieve these goals, the national conference created better personnel conditions in the party's central leading bodies. In the past 5 months, the various levels of leading bodies determined their own tasks for assisting this renewal process. Extended county and municipal party committee meetings and party conferences dealt with the tasks that lie ahead. It is a highly important development in the process of renewal that the decisions determining the further activity emerged from local initiatives, rather than from central orders. This will increase the party members' influence in the process of renewal and will contribute to a development in the activity of the party organizations.

2. At the initiative of the Central Committee and on a large-scale social basis, the state bodies began to work out a comprehensive economic reform and an economic policy change. The National Assembly adopted the bill on economic associations, and a change in property relations and a budget and wage reform are also under way.

A comprehensive reform of our political institutions began in the wake of the position of the MSZMP party conference. A review of our Constitution has begun. The government has begun to prepare more than 30 new laws. Legislation on the right of assembly and association, as well as a modification of the election law are also on the agenda. A renewal of the government's system of decisionmaking has also begun. The trade union movement, the KISZ, and PPF, the federations of cooperatives, and other public organizations have also begun to renew their activities. Various new social and political movements and associations have been, or are being formed. Greater scope is provided for expressing and confronting various interests and opinions, and, at the same time, views are becoming more polarized.

3. The situation of the party and state leadership is made more difficult by the fact that it has to struggle simultaneously with the consequences of past mistakes and with current problems. The unfulfilled promises of the past 15 years, the often unfounded predictions, and the failure to implement the goals decided upon at the 13th MSZMP Congress are all increasing the prevailing lack of confidence. Insufficient information about our economic situation, the overly centralized system of decisionmaking, and the belief that the party has almost unlimited opportunities for action have all strengthened the belief that the time and extent of an improvement in our situation depend solely on political intentions. There is still insufficient knowledge of the limited scope of government decisions, and therefore a concept is gaining ground according to which the current situation can be

quickly changed exclusively by improving the bodies that represent interests. However, even a more effective system of representing interests is unable to substitute for the needed change in production.

4. In spite of the changes that have taken place since the party conference, the mood of the population, including the mood of the party members, continues to deteriorate. The main reason for this is that the otherwise successful measures aimed at improving our economic balance are accompanied by a perceptible further drop in our standard of living and are also making living conditions more difficult. Social tensions deriving from our previous economic policy are surfacing and gaining strength. Several strata of the population, like large families, pensioners, young people at the beginning of their careers, low-income unskilled workers, and a large part of the intelligensia, are living under difficult conditions today.

Following the personnel changes that were carried out at the party conference and the program adopted by the party conference there was a widespread belief that possibilities would emerge for quickly improving the living conditions of the population. However, a change in economic performance can only be achieved gradually. Therefore, we cannot realistically count today on possibilities of quickly easing the existing social tensions. Today, interest has almost entirely shifted to the distribution of income and allowances, while we lack the production background for solving the problems. We must openly admit that the demands of the various strata of society, although justified in themselves, cannot be met in the short term because of a lack of financial resources. Only the implementation of a change in our economic policy and a consistent implementation of the economic reform in the sphere of production can create the conditions for fulfilling these demands.

5. The party is not ripe for the appearance of social and political movements and associations and the increase in the activity of bodies that represent interests, but it has found itself in the midst of real pluralist political conditions. Neither the party's central bodies nor the party membership are adequately prepared for this. The party's central leading bodies have adopted an attitude of wait-and-see. A large number of party members feel themselves abandoned in this new situation. The public debate on various draft bills also reflected this attitude.

Most party members are looking for a clear-cut orientation. Some party members have become uncertain in the new situation, and others feel that the new development of political pluralism endangers the basic values of socialism. There are also party members who regard these changes as insufficient and call for unlimited liberalization. Various political endeavors have emerged in society. Many of these endeavors represent ideas that are close to the party, and others represent ideas that are independent from the party. Some of them oppose socialism and are based on bourgeois democracy. All these are, of course, natural consequences of the process of developing pluralism, and, at the same time, these require the party to clearly formulate its own efforts in connection with the direction and framework of shaping a democratic political order.

6. Openness in society, primarily the openness of the press, has increased considerably in recent months. Greater opportunities have emerged for various opinions to be made public. There is a healthy competition under way in the press for a quick supply of information. The press, television, radio, and the supply of information have become more interesting and varied. There has been an increase in the role played by newspaper publishers in shaping the political lines of their publications and the editorial boards have also become more independent. Opportunities to express critical opinions about the party and government positions have also increased.

At the same time, the responsibility of the newspaper publishers is not yet clear and uncertainty is prevailing in press policy and in press management. Journalists are also affected by the deterioration in the public mood. A certain amount of distortion of the openness of our press is a phenomenon that disturbs our political life. Narrow circles are trying to impose their own views on society. These views are also carried by the broad mass media. This is confusing the public and is threatening the reform process because it increases the unfounded political intolerance.

7. Relations between the party and the population have weakened considerably in the past 15 years. We were unable to conduct a genuine dialogue with the broad strata of the working class, primarily with the skilled workers, on issues of great importance which concern the entire society, like restructuring, unemployment, and social policy.

We have also failed to build bridges of contact with the important strata of the intelligentsia. The shortcomings in the party's policy toward the intellectuals and the deterioration in the conditions of intellectual activity led to the alienation of some publicly active intellectuals from the party.

The agricultural workers and the agricultural sector are one of the pillars of our social stability today. In further shaping our agricultural policy, it is in our basic interest to maintain this situation and to make sure that prospects of development continue to prevail in this sector along with the necessary restructuring.

8. The fate of our young people is the key issue of our nation's future and a decisive issue from the viewpoint of socialist development. In the past 10 years, the young generations grew up to be adults amid conditions of economic stagnation, deteriorating living conditions,

and increasing social tensions. Therefore, these generations have mainly negative experiences about our society. It is therefore our historical responsibility to conduct a youth-supporting policy, namely to enable a greater proportion of young people to participate in shaping policy. The deterioration in the young people's living conditions, diminishing prospects, the strengthening of political radicalism among some young people, and their efforts to find a way out warn us that action and political openness are needed now, rather than words.

9. The party is undergoing a change and transformation. The party members increasingly desire to take an active part in shaping party policy. The party members demand the renewal of the party, but they are uncertain about their personal tasks. As the party members were unable to actively participate in shaping the party policy in the past 15 years, they cannot feel responsible for the wrong decisions made during this time and for the consequences of these decisions. Thus, they cannot accept the full political continuity either.

The party's various levels of leading bodies have begun to renew their activities. One of the characteristics of the current situation is that the old style of leadership and guidance has become obsolete in many places, but the new elements are now being arranged into an operational system.

II

1. The position of the MSZMP national conference and the need to renew socialism and the party reflects the desire of all the party members. The tasks that have been decided, the social requirements, and the new developments all justify the need to accelerate the implementation of the position adopted at the national party conference and the Central Committee work plan.

2. It is a decisively important task to immediately restore the party's ability to act. A clear-cut interpretation of party unity is a basic requirement for this. This is not a permanent and monolithic unity, and not a unity directed from above, but a unity that is taking shape during debate and is adjusting to changing requirements.

Our party represents a great political power. There is need for a firm and consistent political collaboration for the party to be able to assert its power to shape society. One of the elements of this collaboration is the further strengthening of a political center which is able to consistently implement the guidelines of the party conference, which takes a stand against any manifestation of extremism, and which is followed by the majority of party members. This political center should be able to carry out a dialogue and pursue creative cooperation with nonparty progressive, socialist, left-wing democratic and national forces and with the churches on the basis of mutually accepted principles.

Along with respect for independence and with maintaining the principled requirement of renewal, the leading party bodies should provide principled political assistance and orientation for party organs and basic organizations in order to ease their renewal, and they should also provide the necessary information.

Residential district political activity should gradually come to the fore as the party organizations shift to the new principles and requirements. The party members should participate in the various movements, bodies that represent interests, and in the new associations, as well as in the increasing political public life and in social debates.

It is an indispensable requirement for the political activity of the party's competent bodies to formulate their guidelines in important political issues, guidelines that can and should be represented.

We need an efficient and qualitatively renewing party apparatus that is able to adjust to the changing tasks facing the party bodies. The party bodies should conclude the necessary changes by the end of this year.

3. In evaluating the country's real situation and determining the starting points of further development, the Central Committee is counting on the party members' opinions and is conducting a broad and active exchange of views by making use of various forms. The various leading bodies of the party should participate in these exchanges of views on all levels. This political-movement activity should receive full publicity. The party organizations should organize communist forums aimed at strengthening the members' unity, and should make use of these forums in shaping political public life.

4. The MSZMP is a political force capable of creating and consistently implementing a program of national development, of rallying forces interested in reform, and of creating a coalition of forces committed to socialist progress. This is the guarantee that we block the way of the clearly rejected Stalinist model and of the alternative of a bourgeois social order. This is the goal and main stage of the two-front struggle under the current conditions.

5. The MSZMP accepts the historical heritage of the past 4 decades which has brought prosperity to the Hungarian people. The MSZMP intends to advance this by maintaining this prosperity. The unification congress of the two working parties in 1948, a congress promising new qualities, and the democratic efforts demanding the reform of socialism in the period between 1953-56 are progressive elements of this policy. Following 1956, the MSZMP made great efforts to change the prevailing system of socialism. The MSZMP achieved great results in improving living conditions, broadening democracy, guaranteeing human rights, asserting the principles of humanism, and in its reform efforts between 1966-68,

results appreciated by both the domestic and international public opinion. The MSZMP was able to carry out all this only partially in the historically determined foreign and domestic conditions. We have not advanced beyond the limits of the previously developed socialist political system. The decisionmaking mechanism and the way of shaping the political will clashed with the real needs of social and political development and thus, they became factors hindering socialist development and sources of serious mistakes.

This is also a reason why we should not continue to maintain an economic and political system based on a historically obsolete model of socialism. We want to change our subjective and conservative view and practice which led to the mistakes of the past 15 years, mistakes that are still affecting our daily life today. We cannot maintain the overly centralized decisionmaking mechanism and the subjective election of leaders; it is also impossible to avoid control by society of our leaders' activity.

6. Regarding the content, ways, and methods of the new national consensus, the ideal of social progress and national prosperity is the only guiding ideal for us. On the basis of our historical experiences and of our recognition deriving from the changed circumstances, we consider the following to be the basic pillars of national consensus today:

—an independent economic and social policy based on national interests;

—creation of an efficient market economy;

—a more determined opening toward the world at large based on modernization;

—assertion of the society's right to self-organization as a new element of socialism under the conditions of political pluralism; the creation, in this framework, of a new path of development for our socialist society and of cooperation between all the progressive, left-wing, and democratic forces reflecting the interests of the Hungarian society;

—the creation and guaranteeing of a firm constitutionalism which represents the basis of a secure law and order and of a constitutional state and which includes, within the framework of a democratic political system, the legal regulations concerning the cooperation between the party, the government, the various bodies that represent interests, and social and political movements;

—recognition of joint opportunities of all the ideological currents engaged in socialist renewal to create their own political programs, including opportunities for the active participation of non-Marxist and religious people in shaping society's activity.

7. The workers' interests should be clearly asserted in making and implementing political decisions. Therefore, it is in the fundamental political interest of the party to conduct a genuine dialogue with the workers on economic and social policy issues that directly affect their working and living conditions, incomes, and social security. We should ask for support in carrying out a distribution of incomes which—beyond short term interests—will contribute to social and economic modernization, faster development, and, in the final analysis, to the workers' prosperity too.

Only an agricultural policy based on interests reflecting the requirements of restructuring can ensure the confidence and future of agricultural workers.

It is impossible to provide answers to the great challenges of our era without the contribution of the intelligentsia. Therefore, our relations with the intelligentsia have a strategic, rather than tactical, importance. We think it is necessary to create opportunities for the intellectuals' active participation in the decisionmaking process and for their own initiatives. Greater appreciation of intellectual activity is justified, and we support this.

The young people have an inalienable right to participate in democratizing our political system and to participate, through their own organizations, in shaping policy and creating their own future. Political institutions should also turn into a stage of dialogue, agreement, and cooperation between various generations.

8. The MSZMP is searching for new ways of pluralism in the society's expression of interests, self-organization, and control, and of the society's self-regulation. There is need for cooperation of forces, rather than a division of forces, in order to solve the extremely difficult tasks facing our nation in this political period. According to its position, the party intends to exercise its leading role in the framework of a one-party system. The party regards it as natural that various political organizations emerge in accordance with the stipulations of the Constitution and the law. The party determines its relations to these organizations in accordance with their programs and practical activity. The party is looking for cooperation and political alliance with forces that promote socialist renewal and national progress. However, the party is taking a firm stand against forces that oppose our socialist order, our constitutional state, and our system of alliance.

9. Publicity is playing a special role in renewing our political system and in its functioning. The press that has come to the fore as an independent factor should properly adjust during the process of democratization. Good cooperation and partnership relations should emerge between political institutions and the journalists.

We will accelerate the preparation of our position concerning the modernization of publicity. The interests and the political and financial responsibilities of publishers and newspaper editors should be consistently implemented. This is particularly true of the large-scale information media supervised by the government. This media should publish various alternative views only in accordance with their real weight in society. The media should make better use of their critical functions in arguing with these views, and for this, the media should mobilize the communists working in these areas. Opportunities should be given for various organizations to create their own press publicity within the framework of the press law.

10. We will accelerate the activity of working committees engaged in analyzing the experiences of past decades. This analysis should deal in detail with substantial issues concerning the responsibility for mistaken decisions made in the past. The public should receive a clear analysis of our economic situation.

11. We should accelerate the comprehensive process of economic reform. The enterprises should receive a greater freedom of decision and action in order to create a mixed market economy and the necessary foreign economic opening, to implement the law on business associations, to create market conditions, and to succeed in the practical economic and political tasks of liberalization. Concrete orientation programs and economic incentives should be provided to all forms of property, including private property. We should steadily advance in introducing the wage, budget, and price reforms. We should strive to quickly work out the practice of coordinating economic interests.

Clear interests should be created for the various strata of society interested in economic development to participate in the process of renewing our economy.

The construction of a network of social assistance should commence for the various strata of the society that are facing difficulties as a result of the latest measures. An active training and employment policy is needed to avoid unemployment, to reduce the existing number of unemployed people, and to take care of people who lost their jobs.

12. The Central Committee has concluded that there are several tensions and problems burdening our population and our domestic political life, problems that can be either eliminated or solved by means of the available methods. The Central Committee thinks it is necessary to eliminate the negative effects of our tax system which hinder production and performance.

Rational saving should prevail in state management and in the economy. We should review the means and resources that the state, party, and other organizations can release for other social goals.

13. Legal and moral requirements should be implemented in all areas, irrespective of party affiliation or position. The party is taking a firm stand for the elimination of corruption and for calling offenders to account.

The Central Committee took into account the difficulties prevailing in the current situation of Hungarian society. The Central Committee is calling upon the Communists and all the progressive forces of our society committed for the future of our nation to join forces in finding the possible ways out from today's difficult economic situation and from its negative social consequences.

Bush Election as U.S. President Commented Upon

Bush Facing 'Hard Tests'

LD0911113488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Krzysztof Wojna commentary]

[Text] In Europe the U.S. elections have been followed with particular attention. Here is the main border dividing the world into East and West. The sharpness of the division and the extent of the border's penetrability depends on the climate of Washington-Moscow relations.

From this viewpoint, the basic criterion for Europe's assessment of the new president is his attitude toward the Soviet Union and the changes taking place there. West Europe is increasingly accepting the irreversible nature of processes connected with the reconstruction of Soviet socialism. In the United States a departure from the line of mortal enemy encounters much more resistance.

The new president's personality and level of engagements in international detente will play a very essential role in further dialogue between the two great powers. George Bush is facing hard tests. Talks on the reduction of strategic arms are continuing, and soon very complicated negotiations are to begin on the reduction of conventional arms in Europe.

The pace of Soviet policy does not provide the new president with much time for delay, particularly since West Europe is clearly not interested in waiting until the Americans have completed refurbishing the White House.

No 'Radical Change' Expected

LD0911141488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Boleslaw Brosz Czak commentary]

[Text] Even during the U.S. election campaign, the victor spoke about some aspects of foreign policy. On the most essential issue, he declared his wish for an early meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. This indicates the continuation of the policy of dialogue between the two powers and the implementation of the colossal task initiated by the agreement on medium-range missiles. For the Soviet Union, despite its complete impartiality toward U.S. elections, and for both candidates, it will be more comfortable to talk with a politician who will guarantee the continuation of a certain line or idea.

It is difficult to expect that Bush will radically change his attitude toward the Western allies. He probably will not have as much authority as Reagan, and it seems that more partnership-type relations will be established with European capitals. Bush represents, although not fully, the East Coast establishment, and most certainly the European direction in his activity will exceed, or at least balance, Reagan's look toward the Pacific.

For the immediate Latin neighbors, the election of the Republican candidate does not indicate a change of policy because on the Nicaragua issue, or more precisely, Latin America, he takes an identical stand to that of Ronald Reagan. True, during his Latin travels Bush often spoke about real partnership and the need for a better understanding of the problem, but it does not look as though he will depart too far from what the Republican administration has done for the past 8 years.

Perhaps the new president will intensify contacts with China, for which, as he recently said, he feels considerable sentiment dating back to his time as ambassador to Beijing. For us and for other socialist states, Bush's victory does not indicate any radical change in behavior. It will be good if the visible improvement in relations continues intensively.

Orzechowski Honors October Revolution in Speech

LD0711212588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1555 GMT 7 Nov 88

[Speech by Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary at the GOSR anniversary soiree held in the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades and friends! Every year on this November day our thoughts return to the historic days which shook Russia and the world. Millions of enslaved workers and peasants, exploited and hungry, hurt and humiliated, stepped onto the stage of history and took their future in their own hands.

The Bolshevik Party united in one revolutionary thought and one revolutionary deed the workers' efforts to shake off the burden of capitalist exploitation; the peasants' efforts for land of their own; the intelligentsia's efforts, centering on their creative and patriotic desire for freedom; and the oppressed nations' efforts for self-determination and the right for free development and everybody's efforts for peace. While toppling the old power, crumbling the foundations of the system based on exploitation, oppression, inequality, and injustice, the masses began to create a new social order. It was to make real the eternal dreams and images about a better and just life, and a life worthy of man's dignity. Already during the days of the revolution its participants were aware of the fact that their national, Russian issue had a considerably wider dimension: A general human and world dimension, that it was a challenge to the capitalist world, and to the bourgeois civilization of exploitation and money, wealth and poverty.

The participation in the revolution of hundreds of thousands of revolutionaries from many countries—among them over 200,000 Poles—was an expression of this. October awakened and accelerated the progressive and liberating transformations in the living conditions of societies, and decisively influenced the (?unity) of the international communist and workers' movement, the forces of progress and democracy.

From those first days up to the present time, it has significantly influenced the world's face. No one will succeed in undermining the epoch-making significance of the October revolution. It is (?clear) that the light born then and sent out by it continues to shine. Its brightness rises over the earth. The slogans unfailingly and unchangingly awaken thoughts and action. Unfaded, the ideas and aims of October have lost nothing of their historical sense.

In a significant part of the world, peoples' power, bread, equality, justice, and peace continue to be values in short supply. Also, where socialism today specifies the system of states, the social order, the message of October still continues to have the force of an obligatory instruction that has not been completely fulfilled, a testament to a generation of bold fighters-pioneers, before whom we bow our heads today. We particularly honor Vladimir Lenin, the unquestioned and victorious leader of the October Revolution. His humane profile—[words indistinct] moral, intellectual, psychological; his knowledge and creative and leadership abilities, boldness and integrity, ability to transform theory into practice, and nonsurrender to schematicism in action, his openness, direct ties with the masses, and understanding of life just as it is—all of this taken separately and together, constantly remains a model worthy of emulation.

The revolution in Russia, that locomotive of history as the poet was to call it, had its own rhythm and own measure of time. The historical process was subject to sudden acceleration. The tempo of transformations struck objective observers dumb. It seemed as if history was making up for lost time.

Vladimir Lenin was aware of that, as were his comrades. Their names and noble deeds, restored to social memory by perestroyka, have again begun to shine with true revolutionary enthusiasm, wisdom, and farsightedness and with deed commitment to the cause. These allow us, the contemporaries, to rediscover October, to see the greatness and sense of the Russian Revolution in this new light—clearer, more realistic, and humane. We can see this, not through the prism of abstract ideas, not through objective or even iron laws of history, but through human individual and common actions, reasons and aspirations, ups and downs, victories and defeats, happiness and bitterness, enthusiasms and doubt.

This newly discovered October makes us aware that winning it seems to have overturned many firm dogmas about socialist revolution and socialism, consolidated for decades in the theory of the international workers movement. Socialist revolution did not take place where it was supposed to and occured under conditions different to those considered appropriate by the most famous theoreticians and practitioners of the 2d International.

Lenin had no doubt that October and its experience did not fit into Marx and Engel's schemes. His awareness of the fact clearly appears in his speeches against slavish imitation of the past. On arguing with the method of looking into old books, which deal with something different, he defended the view that there are situations and processes which could not have been envisaged by Marx or by any Marxists.

Hence, there is no need, he taught, to look back, but rather to look in Marx's method for a key to assessing new phenomena and cope somehow on one's own. The starting point for Lenin, a theoretician and strategist of revolution, was life. He wrote: A Marxist must take account of real life and take into consideration facts taken from reality and not stick stubbornly to the theory of yesterday.

This thought of Lenin's has a particular sense just now. Socialism and human civilization have found themselves entirely in a situation which could not have been predicted by any Marx or any Lenin. Thus, it is not enough to swear allegiance to theories and teachings. It is not enough to look in old books in order to solve problems which the Soviet restructuring and the Polish renewal are facing. When looking for a key to assessing new phenomena in Marx's and Lenin's methods, one must cope on one's own. Denying many theories and dogmas, the socialist revolution in Russia was compatible with the logic of life and historical processes and with the very essence of Marxism.

Esteemed assembly! The historic and the most lasting sense of the socialist revolution lies in the creation of a new social order, a new form and a new stage of civilization, based on different premises than capitalism and on different principles and value systems which organize socioeconomic political, cultural, internal, and international life. After having won consolidated power when the revolution succeeded in defending itself and reaffirmed its right to life, the most difficult period started. This was a period of a great transformation, a period of transition from capitalism to socialism, a period of creating something new, a period of renewal of all of social life, of the state, of the law, of power, of economics, of culture, of morality, particularly the principles of social coexistence, and of relations between nations and states.

The time of renewal is the time of creation. The socialist revolution did not destroy the old entirely just because it was old and did not regard the new as better and more perfect just because it was new. The greatness of Lenin and his creative genius also lies in the fact that he believed that the socialist revolution and socialism were links in the development of civilization, an alloy of inherited civilization and new material and spiritual values created by the liberated masses.

The coincidence of historical events and processes have resulted in the fact that the great leap by civilization and socialism originated under particularly unfavorable and dramatic circumstances and conditions. The working masses of the Soviet Union had to pay a high price for this. The difficulties and obstacles which the Russian revolution met with turned out to be disproportionately greater than those difficulties and obstacles which any other revolution had had to overcome. The intertwining of events which resulted in Russia becoming the avant guard of socialist revolution, as Lenin described it, also resulted in the fact that Russia was burdened with particularly hard pains of socialist birth.

Thus, to present things in proper proportions and in order not to lose distance between what was and what is, it is worth pointing out that Russia after October was, as the contemporaries have described it, an enormous smoking ruin. The world war, the military intervention, and the civil war multiplied the effects of the backwardness in prerevolutionary Russia. On this enormous smoking ruin were unplowed land, dead railways, abandoned factories, and destroyed and ransacked cities. Production, the eternal source of all social life, was only just functioning. Society was in a state of decay; the dispersed masses were deprived of order, discipline, moral norms, and authority.

And on this enormous ruin, in an abyss of backwardness, there were, in a way, lost islets of modern civilization and new social force, the most enlightened elements of the proletariat, peasants, and intelligentsia, the Bolshevik party, and (?forces) around it. These islets were radiating enthusiasm and faith in the victory of socialism. From the sphere of theory and program, socialism was becoming the practice in social life and part of the reality and everyday existence of the wide masses. The living, creative socialism, according to Lenin's definition, cannot be anything else than a work of the masses themselves, created in accordance with their sense of what is just and moral. Socialism, both in the theory and thought of Lenin, and in the imagination of its creators—the masses—was perceived as a better, more rational, and more humane system than capitalism. The development of social affluence would make it possible to meet the needs of all and to put into reality the striving of the working people for freedom, equality, dignity, well-being, and social security.

The road to the implementation of these aims was to lead through the abolition of class divisions, the complete abolition of exploitation and all forms of enslavement, the quick development of production forces, and the more efficient and rational exploitation of production forces than possible in capitalism for the good of man, who in the new system would become the highest value and the measure of all things and all matters. At first, Socialism seemed to be in reach and not over the moon. This was when the demolition of the old dominated over the creation of the new, and revolutionary enthusiasm was making miracles. Lenin himself expressed this, saying for instance in a speech on 1 May 1919 that the generation of 30-year-olds would in its lifetime see the flowering of communism. Gradually, however, the relatively close aim became ever more distant, and the road there became full of difficulties initially unforeseen.

The consciousness that the road to socialism would be a road through sufferring [droga przez meke] grew gradually. The creation of new statehood, and above all of an economy and consciousness, the universal participation of working people in the direction of the state, came across barriers of economic backwardness, almost universal illiteracy, and the masses lack of both experience in culture and in participation in public affairs. Lenin was ever more clearly aware that it would take the party, and the working class decades just to create the framework of socialism. Socialism as an aim was becoming, to cite Lenin again, a very high, steep mountain, on whose summit the foot of man has not yet trod. Lenin imagined the road to this summit as a multidimensional process of creative activity—dogged, well though out, and bold, a slow, careful, gradual moving forward.

An exceptional amount of this road leading to the steep mountain was successfully covered in the Leninist period and under Lenin's direct leadership. For many outside observers this was almost a miracle. It was an expression of the irony of history and its dramatic complexity that the stage of the road through suffering that was most tragic for both socialism and the party was still to follow with Stalin and all that is today contained in the concept of Stalinism.

The Leninist stage in the formation of socialism has been permanently inscribed in the Soviet peoples history. Today, with the reconstruction of socialism, the Leninist stage has become the source of valuable experience and historical optimism for all those who see the hope of the world in socialism. For Poland, for renewal, for the formation of the new shape of socialism in our country it is of singular importance. The fate of Poland and Russia, Peoples Poland and the Soviet Union, Polish renewal and Soviet perestroyka, has been very closely interwined, but not without historical tensions and dramatic processes. History closely linked the fate of revolution in Russia and Polish independence regained 70 years ago. That was achieved by Poles themselves, no one gave it to us; Polish people fought for it.

This was made possible due to favorable outside circumstances, the most important of which was the October Revolution. It crushed the pillars on which the edifice of imperialism rested; prisons of many European nations, the thrones of the Romanovs, Hapsburgs, and Hohenzollerns were destroyed by revolutions in Russia, Germany, and Austro-Hungary. This was the end of Europe 'under the rule of three black eagles. The struggle of several generations of Poles for independent statehood was successful. The Polish independence movement was a considerable part of the all-European revolutionary wave. Organically it belonged to democratic left-wing parties and the aspirations of broad masses of workers, peasants, intelligentsia, townspeople, and artisans.

From those social circles and a number of parties which represented them came not only ideas of independence, but also actions leading to independence.

Understanding of the people's aspirations dictated the program of democratic and progressive social transformations, and later on, principles of the March Constitution undertaken by the reemerging state's first government. The Polish state was reemerging, thanks not only to political circumstances created by the October Revolution, but also due to the influence of its social ideals—they were close to the Polish people's aspirations. The attitude of the socialist revolution to the Pole's aspirations for independence, the declaration of rights for the nations of Russia, the unconditional abrogation of the partition treaty by the Council of Peoples Commissars,—all these forecast the gradual emergence, from the pain of bitter experience and a deep revaluation, of the foundations of goodneighborly Polish-Soviet relations, and in the future, a close alliance of friendship and cooperation between Poland and the country of the Soviets. However, the road to that was also a kind of road through suffering. In the first months and years of the Soviet revolution and Polish independence, dreams of the fatherland, and of an independent and great Poland intertwined and clashed tragically with the revolutionary dreams of the world revolution, of carrying its ideas and flame to the heart of Europe. The muddled chain of causes and results the political shortsightedness of Poland's propertied classes, wrecked the possibilities for goodneighborly relations between a reborn Poland and the Soviet Union, against the hopes and aims of millions of Polish workers and peasants.

The far-sighted people remained lonely, and were often ostracized and persecuted. The armies of independent Poland marched on Kiev, hundreds of kilometers beyond ethnically Polish territories and several months later detachments of workers' and peasants' Red Army found themselves at the gates of Warsaw. Enmity and mistrust was born, feeding on the bad heritage of the Tsarist past. Among very few people, Vladimir Lenin saw and understood its essence, the deep historical and psychological conditioning and the bad consequences. It was not easy to remove this mistrust in the conditions of a besieged stronghold in the Soviet Union, painful distortions from the Leninist tradition and policy accumulated. They cast a tragic shadow on the mutual relations of our nations, states, and parties.

Today, in the name of truth, we mercilessly criticize this painful time in Poland and in the USSR as Mikhail Gorbachev described it during his meeting with Polish intelligentsia representatives at the Royal Castle in Warsaw. Ever more fully we are freeing ourselves from the dregs of bitterness and mutual mistrust, from historical secrecy and deceits. We want no blank spots constituting stains on the relations between our nations. What history complicated, socialism began to straighten out on the lines of mutual respect, joint interests, human friendship, friendly and lively interest in life, culture, and economic and social achievements.

Human memory is selective. A wise and just memory rejects a bad past, though it does not forget about it, as a lesson and a warning. It exposes that which is good and mutually advantageous. New generations have also grown up. As far as they are concerned, what counts first of all is the present and the future, everything that brings nations together and not what separates them. Years have come in which the Russian words glasnost and perestroyka, just as soviets or sputnik in the past, are known all over the world. Europe and the entire world are talking with approval today about the next revolution in the Soviet Union serving with new power the implementation of the goals and ideals shining for the October Revolution and coping with the challenges of comtemporary times.

Let us recall what Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski said a year ago in Moscow. From the creative understanding of Marxism-Leninism, from the deep faith in the future, the impulse for reconstruction was born. The CPSU is inspiring and steering this historical turn. Its present general line makes the ideas of the Great October Revolution contemporary. In its essence it deserves the name of Marxsism-Leninism of the end of the 20th century.

The wind of the Soviet spring is enlivening. It leaves no one indifferent. Perestroyka is also an innovatory reading, by the creators and exponents of the new thinking, of the Leninist analysis of the developmental tendencies of the contemporary world. In Lenin we find deliberations about the ever closer mutual dependence of the development of nations and states, about science and technology's role in this process, about the appearance in human civilization of what we today call global problems. For Lenin for instance, apart from matters of peace, colonialism and the necessity for its liquidation was such a global problem. We find the thought on the primacy of overall, human values over class values.

It is precisely this thought and idea that forms the basis of the Decree on Peace. Peace, in its Leninist interpretation, is not so much a state without war and conflict as a lasting coexistence solidly based on international law, habits, and norms of international relations with both rivalry and cooperation between states of various systems and developmental roads. New thinking is thus a logical, but creative continuation of Leninism. Its essence is seeing the future of the world not as an unavoidable confrontation of one system with another, but as the process of tightening cooperation across Europe and across the world. The liquidation of sources of conflict and causes of distrust, the line of resolving global problems, despite and above and beyond differences: war and peace, equal and mutual security, hunger, ecology, and the conquest of the universe.

Poland was never a passive observer of international events. It always actively and creatively, as far as its capabilities allowed, participated in activities for the strengthening of security, disarmament, and peaceful cooperation, especially in Europe. The latest expression of this is the constantly more concrete, comprehensive plan for the reduction of armaments and increase of trust in central Europe in the so-called Jaruzelski Plan. We desire to actively corealize the idea of the construction of a joint European home, having as a nation and state special historical, cultural, and moral advantages. In the process of renewal and reforms in Poland and perestroyka in the Soviet Union, mutual Polish-Soviet relations have already attained and will continue to achieve a wide-ranging and radically new quality.

The need to broaden economic, political, ideological, cultural, and scientific cooperation and to broaden contacts between millions of citizens has become natural. The July visit of CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev to Poland, and its exceptionally sincere and friendly climate, has created new and broader stimuli for it. We are creating conditions and guarantees for the near future to achieve broader and closer mutual relations and to use more effectively our societies' great economic and intellectual potentials. We count on personal contacts, meetings, and the daily bonds of working people of science and culture, social and youth organizations—all this encourages closer relations between people, places and whole nations. Together we are overcoming whatever slowed down development and detracted from the effectiveness and attractiveness of socialism. We have already managed to change and improve a lot. It is our joint desire for socialism to attract the hearts and minds of millions of people by the glow of its principles and its great creative possibilities and real achievements.

Poland and the Soviet Union are today facing qualitatively new challenges; their name: rapid and effective participation in yet another wave of the scientific and technological revolution and to increase the effectiveness of the socialist bloc's economic relations. Together we are creating a wideranging, interesting, and mutually beneficial prospect for cooperation up to and including the beginning of the next century. We are reaching to new spheres, such as the latest technologies and generations of products, electronics, automation, new materials, biotechnology, biocybernetics, biomedical engineering, the production of highly efficient materials and power-thrifty investment equipment which will ensure production of mass-use goods of European and world standard.

We are freeing our cooperation from the bonds of old regulations and habits, we are creating a climate of enquiry in which human initiative is given broad scope for creative exchanges of ideas and unification of forces and resources in the efforts to modernize. Reconstructing a model of cooperation also means striving for more effective and direct contacts between enterprises, economic organizations, and research and scientific units. Today, already thousands of people are participating in them: workforces from hundreds of enterprises and engineering personnel and workers. In the near future factories and workforce representatives which are cooperating will coordinate plans and implement scientific and technological achievements in production and improve the large-series [wielkoseryjna] specialization and cooperation. This qualitatively new stage of cooperation also consists of indepth reconstruction of the economic and financial mechanisms of such cooperation; convertibility [wymieniallnosc] of international currencies and the universal character of accounting [wielostronnosc rozliczen]; setting realistic foreign exchange rates and establishing a methodology for shaping the relationship between international currencies and the transferable ruble; and introducing the reconstructed principles of price-setting in mutual trade—these are just some of the goals.

Esteemed comrades, friends, October produced in the world a powerful, resolute movement toward the new, which overthrows various obstacles, and moves toward socialism.

Today it is developing with new force by returning to the ideals of revolution, not just in words and declarations but in political, social, and economic practice. In front of our very eyes and with our participation a new shape of socialism is being born, a society of humanism and democracy, self-government, rule of law, and openness, a system of true wielding of power by the people where the highest esteem and material and moral rewards are given to the fruitful work of people and their abilities, mastery, and talent. We feel this particularly strongly in Poland and in the Soviet Union.

The renewal of socialism is revealing and freeing new reserves of cooperation, and gives the idea of internationalism the dimension of everyday practice, brings people closer, and strengthens brotherhood. The anniversary of Great October makes it an even closer and more common event for Polish thoughts and feelings [as heard]. On the occasion of today's celebration we are conveying to the communists of the land of the Soviets, to all the Soviet nations, sincere greetings for new and outstanding achievements in the creation and consolidation of socialism, the acceleration of socioeconomic development, for action to strengthen peace, security, detente, and international cooperation. We wish you, dear friends, successful realization of the ambitious tasks mapped out by the 27th congress and 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU. May the immortal ideals of the Great October Socialist Revolution continue to become real. Long live the cooperation and fraternal friendship of our parties, states, and nations. Long live peace and socialism. [applause]

Hungarian Military Delegation Arrives

LD0811230488 Budapest MTI in English 1931 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 8—A delegation of the Main Political Board of the Hungarian People's Army, led by Hungarian Vice-Minister of Defence and Chief of the Hungarian Army's Main Political Board Gen. Istvan Horvath, arrived in Poland today at an invitation from Chief of the Main Political Board of the Polish Army Gen. Tadeusz Szacilo.

The sides will exchange experiences and discuss current political and party activities within the Armed Forces of the two befriended armies.

Walesa Denies Resignation Threat Reports

LD0811224888 Hamburg DPA in German 2119 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—This evening, the chairman of the banned Solidarity trade union, Lech Walesa, denied reports that he has threatened to resign because of the strike at the Gdansk repair works. In a telephone conversation with DPA Walesa said that he told the authorities at the end of the August strike that if Poland's problems were not soon solved it would be difficult for him the next time to do the same as in August, that is to say to end the strike. He, Walesa, would then be of no use for anything.

At the time in August he had appealed to the leadership not to continually take events lightly. This is the case now, and this has been interpreted as meaning that he wants to resign. The 200-300 young workers of the repair works, who went on strike today, had invited him to come to them. He refused, however. He realizes that dissatisfaction is growing among the young people.

Following talks with director Czeslaw Tolwinski and the official trade unions at the Lenin Shipyard he has come to the conclusion today that it would be hasty to announce a readiness to strike or strikes as a defense against the closure decision. There are now 2 years to the final closure. This is a degree of yielding by the leadership, and much could happen in this time.

Bishop Wants Christian Ethics in Gdansk Affair

LD0811164088 Vatican City International Service in Polish 1515 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Text] Tadeusz Goclowski, bishop of Gdansk, is at our microphone today. With the current situation in Poland in mind, and in particular the Gdansk shipyard, he has prepared for Vatican Radio's listeners a talk on the subject: The Lay Christian's responsibility for the life of society. Let us listen to an excerpt from this talk:

[Goclowski] According to the will of Christ, a Christian is the salt of the earth and the light of the world. [passage indistinct]

The so-called lay world would like to have exclusive responsibility for earthly matters. A lay state, lay upbringing, the exclusivity of lay thought in the masss media are known phenomena in the East and the West. In fact, Christian Europe—and not only it—has identified itself with the gospel ethos which has for centuries shaped the face of this earth. At the same time, Christian Europe has the right to have an influence on the lives of individuals and of whole nations. The lay state cannot just grant some privileges to Christians, because the vast majority of society identified itself with the Christian system of values. Family, school, work, culture, economy, and politics—these are the areas of social life which, as a matter of right and duty, should be shaped by Christians in accordance with the choice made by a free nation. Taking arbitrary decisions, without having consulted, above all, those who are creating this common wealth, is a contradiction of these principles and has a negative influence on the social climate. It seems that we are dealing right now with such a situation in the Gdansk shipyard.

The rightful masters of this work enterprise, including its current director and the Worker's Council, claim that this enterprise is in good economic shape and, employing over 11,000 people, has the right to further existence. Let us quote again a sentence which has been quoted earlier: Solidarity makes it easier to build the common good.

In a contemporary society, arbitrary actions—which have not been subject to consultation—will always be open to accusations that they are not guided by the common good but by a political motivation, which has different goals to the purely economic ones. As bishop of the coastal region, I have the duty to recall what the Holy Father said in Gdynia a year ago: We cannot go further; There can be no progress of any kind unless in the name of social solidarity the rights of every man are respected to the end, if there is not enough space in public life for talent and initiative.

I will allow myself to end this statement at this point, when we are thinking with anxiety about the current situation on the coast and in Poland by returning to the article by Zbigniew Machaj [not further identified]. It is the first task of the state not to harm solidarity, either by weakening the already existing social bonds, or by antagonizing various groups and professions. Moreover, the state should stregthen this solidarity and create conditions for its further development, by for instance, the free association of citizens. One cannot build the common good without the pluralism of public life in all its spheres. Our Catholic nation expects full civic activeness, and those who have a serving role within it must create conditions for this activity to be possible. Catholics, on the other hand, when undertaking public activity, must investigate the gospel more fully and get to know Catholic social ethics, shape their consciences so that they are capable of evaluation, deepen within themselves the Christian vision of man, and finally, through civic associations, get to know the broad-ranging sphere of social and public matters so that they can be evaluated in accordance with the criteria of common good and dignity of human beings.

Gdansk Shipyards Manager Explains Closure Plans

AU0911100088 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5-6 Nov 88 p 6

[PAP report: "What Next With Gdansk Shipyards"]

[Text] Gdansk—It was natural that the decision to close down the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk was going to upset shipyard workers. The closure of such a large plant is unprecedented in the Polish economy, and that is why people have no experience to rely on and no understanding for the process of closure, which is usually associated with dismissing workers and closing production shops for good. Shipyard manager Czeslaw Tolwinski dispelled such ambiguities on 4 November.

Through the shipyards' own radio network he announced that the shipyards would function normally to the end of November and that the industry minister's plenipotentiary for the closure of the shipyards and for the further utilization of the shipyards' fixed assets will begin his work on 1 December. Under those conditions, the shipyards will continue to build vessels and fulfill other contracts to the end of 1990. Within that period the shipyards will also carry out a reorganization program providing for setting up new economic units based on the shipyards' production assets

During his meeting with journalists, C. Tolwinski said: It is still too early to say whether a new ship-building unit will be set up to replace the present shipyards. It is possible that such a unit will become one of the structures of the new economic organization. A plant or plants constructing vessels and providing services for the shipping industry must be the basis of such a organization. We already have the first models. This year the shipyards have set up or have joined several joint companies such as, for example, the Fast, which produces marine equipment and provides painting services; the Ref, which produces building materials and supplies hotel and yachting services; and Shipcom, which produces computer programs. The shipyards have also joined joint companies such as the Gdansk casting house and the Gdansk forge. The design bureau is one of those departments that will become independent units. Altogether, the decision to close our shipyards was made in order to reorganize their structure, C. Tolwinski said in conclusion.

The ultimate size of the shipyards' employment will be determined when the structure of the organization that will replace the shipyards has been defined in detail. Probably 3,000 to 4,000 workers will have to go, but this should be no surprise for the work force, because the structural changes program it adopted last June provides for trimming manpower to 8,000 workers. C. Tolwinski announced that next week he would ask by telex the units cooperating with the Gdansk shipyards not to halt their production and the delivery of the materials ordered by the shipyards.

Military Training Boycott Ends at University

LD0811173588 Poznan Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Text] The boycott of military training lectures at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan, which lasted over a week, ended today. Talks were also held with student government representatives about making up for and excusing nonattendance. Details will be discussed at meetings of the Company Councils operating under the training courses.

We have invited the deputy head of military training courses, Colonel Marian Iwan, to the microphone.

[Begin Iwan recording] When everything calms down and normal work resumes, we have to come to an agreement with these councils, at the level of a given company or group, on what should be done to make up the backlog. [passage indistinct] (?What did we get out of this strike?) In my view, nothing good came of it, with regard to the country's defense capability, which is constantly talked about. It resulted in many losses and an unnecessary waste of time, as I often told the students. I can't say that it was positive, for the form of the boycott itself was very regrettable from the beginning. The form itself shows that this kind of thing should not occur. [end recording]

Youth Union on 'Roundtable,' Youth Cooperation

AU2510104688 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 20 Oct 88 p 2

["Excerpts" of statement issued by the Union of Socialist Polish Youth: "Standpoint on the Current State of the Country and the Organization"]

[Text] The idea of a "roundtable" has aroused hopes among many social groups. Preparations for the meeting cannot be accompanied by attempts to create faits accomplis and incite social unrest. While appreciating the importance of a "roundtable," we think that it is not the only path that can lead to the formation of a reform-oriented coalition.

We do not agree with the draft law on associations being drawn up by the government and the church while other institutions and individuals that have an active role to play in public life are bypassed. We also do not agree with the practice of depicting the views expressed by certain groups of intellectuals, members of the clergy, and the opposition as a public debate on the future of the trade union movement. In our opinion, the future of the trade union movement should be determined by working people, and they should have the main say in a debate of this kind.

The Union of Socialist Polish Youth has always advocated that the most pressing problems facing young people should be solved by young people themselves. All we have wanted from the authorities is the creation of conditions that would encourage this. That is why we call on the Young Sejm Deputies Group to asses, in conjunction with the Sejm Commission for National Education and Youth, the implementation of the main government tasks concerning young people for the period 1987-90 and the law on youth, and that the conclusions produced by the assessment be submitted to the Council of Ministers. Young members of people's councils should, without delay, take an interest in what comes of voivodship decisions concerning young people. The Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth charges the Presidium of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth with taking action aimed at establishing a housing association that would create conditions for new forms of housing construction for young people that would favor unconventional and effective changes in housing policy.

Pluralism among young people is a social fact. The union supports and will support organizations and associations that are working to improve conditions for the younger generation and will draw up solutions aimed at strengthening the national economy and the influence exercised by young people.

We call on new youth organizations and associations and formal and informal youth groups to discuss and formulate a joint position on the most important problems facing the country and the younger generation. This could mark the beginning of joint work on creating a vision of a prosperous and democratic Poland and the first step toward realizing that vision.

Plan To Consolidate National Economy Reported

AU0811060188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Nov 88 pp 3, 4

[PAP headline: "Assumptions of the Plan To Consolidate the National Economy"]

[Text]

I. Introduction

At its eighth plenum, the PZPR Central Committee decided that it is necessary to consolidate the national economy in 1989-90. Three reasons are responsible for that:

—People's growing discontent caused by hardships of daily living, by the shortage of many staple goods, by high prices, bad services, and the progressive degradation of the natural environment;

—Dangers to the realization of the 10th party congress resolutions in some important areas that determine people's living conditions (apartments, the flow of goods, and inflation);

—A negative evaluation of the present economic policy and the process of the economic reform;

With the help of party aktivs, nonparty activists, representatives of social and professional communities, scientific institutions, and experts, the Central Committee worked out assumptions of the plan to consolidate the national economy. These assumptions, which give a specific shape to the 10th party congress line under the particular conditions at the end of the eighties, were adopted by the Politburo on 18 October 1988.

II. The Goals of the Plan

1. Immediate goals:

The years of 1989-90 should see an end to the development of negative trends in the economy and improvements in the fields that are most important for the population. In particular there should be:

—Improvements in the flow of goods and in shopping conditions;

—A halt in regression and a reversal of negative trends in housing construction;

—A curb in the scale of inflation and a check of the fall in the buying power of money.

In this period, the performance of the state administration and of all public services such as the post office, banks, and the health service should improve markedly. One way to do that will be to eliminate obsolete and unnatural regulations, to improve work organization and technological equipment, and to use the wage system that favors the effectiveness, competence, and good standards of services.

2. Longterm goals:

The consolidation plan must not be limited to immediate activities and goals and must reach into the future. In the coming 2 years we will be able to achieve no more than to lay the foundations of final solutions. That is why before we take action now, we must know exactly what we want to achieve in the long run.

The following should take place up to 1995:

—The economy should be fully balanced and the domestic market must simply become a good market;

—The housing situation must improve in quality both through speeding up construction and through eliminating restrictions on the more effective use of existing housing facilities;

—Price hikes on goods and services should be reduced to about 5-6 percent, the role and value of money should be increased and consolidated, and the zloty should be made convertible in part at least;

—The degradation of the natural environment should be halted and the natural environment should be improved.

III. Action Strategy

3. Consolidation of the national economy amounts to employing social forces, economic mechanisms, and organizational-technical measures in order to stimulate economic militancy and to trigger the grassroot forces of economic progress so that the material barriers to the development of production can be demolished and the present atmosphere of frustration can be overcome.

Consolidation of the economy amounts to efforts to bring back economic balance, to improve people's living conditions, and to promote priority sectors such as agriculture, food, housing construction, and the protection of the natural environment.

Consolidation of the economy amounts to a program for a better exploitation of production forces and resources now and in the future. It provides for taking immediate action to this effect and for a policy of changes in the structure of production—a policy realized primarily in order to conserve energy and fuels, to develop exports, to promote scientific-technological progress, to curb the production of obsolescent lines, and to eliminate inefficient factories.

4. Consolidation of the national economy amounts to:

—Radically changing the philosophy of running the economy and changing over from restrictions, licenses, and controls to conditions that favor the development of initiative and the enterprising spirit and the stimulation of economic militancy, production, and effectiveness in all sectors of property;

The state should make fewer decisions, but the decisions it makes should be made more rapidly and in good time. Instead of assuming an excessive burden of duties and responsibilities, the state should make it possible for people to take action to safeguard their own interests. At the same time, the state should provide greater social care for all of the people who really need social assistance and other help;

—Implementing the lessons gained from the inefficient exploitation of the resources of manpower, raw and other materials, and production assets; learning the necessary lessons means more rapidly transferring—immediately if necessary—production assets from bad and economically weak enterprises to effective enterprises; this also amounts to revising the investment program and to freeing frozen funds; finally, learning the necessary lessons means using the main resources to achieve priority goals and to realize priority tasks and addressing the great cause of restructuring the national economy;

—Bringing back balance and strengthening the zloty; history and the present experience of many states show that without good money it is impossible to run a truly effective and modern economy, to meet people's needs, to ensure people's well-being, and to improve our economy's position in the world.

Balancing the economy through abundance of goods so that true demand can be met requires a basic reorientation of price-incomes policy, the elimination of institutional and structural sources of inflation, and radical changes in the mechanisms of fiscal and money policy.

5. The realization of the consolidation plan will be achieved through:

—Eliminating or changing the regulations that are a barrier to militancy, and removing bureaucratic obstacles, nonsense, and absurdities from community and economic life;

—Making economic policy decisions, including those that provide for shifting economic resources in line with the goals of the consolidation plan; although this applies in the first place to the 1989-90 period, it is necessary to suitably adjust the work on the 1990-95 National Socioeconomic Plan in such a way that the basic goals and directives of the consolidation plan are fully reflected and that economic problems find their solution in the 1990-95 plan;

—Changing the old or introducing new economic instruments and institutional solutions wherever necessary.

In this connection it is necessary to review and verify the intentions of the realization program for the second stage of the economic reform.

The plan to consolidate the national economy should be the basic programmatic document, one that comprehensively defines socioeconomic policy for 1989-90. That policy will create conditions under which the reformed economic system can function. The Sejm should pass a resolution on the consolidation plan.

IV. Eliminating Restrictions and Promoting Economic Militancy; Equality of All Sectors

6. The Polish people possess an inexhaustible potential of energy, initiative, and enterprise. The socioeconomic area for the application of that potential is enormous. Thousands and thousands of small and medium production and service enterprises of various types of ownership can exist side by side with large state enterprises. Bureaucratic barriers and restrictions that hinder the launching and pursuit of economic activity in all fields of the economy and in all sectors of ownership must be eliminated as soon as possible. The permanent character and stability of economic solutions applying to all forms of ownership will be legally guaranteed. Regardless of the form of ownership (such as state, cooperative, communal, self-government, private, joint-stock, and other ownership), enterprises will perform in line with uniform economic principles and regulations. Equal economic, fiscal, and taxation conditions will be ensured for all economic units in 1989-90.

7. The present system of issuing licenses for economic activities will be replaced by a simple declaration made in the local office of state administration to the effect that a given economic activity has been launched. The requirement of a license will be limited to very few areas which play a special role in the national economy, areas such as, for example, military equipment production, production and distribution of medicines, production of spices, and international transportation. Profit-making economic activities by private persons in addition to their normal jobs, will not have to be reported for registration.

8. Regulations and practices that restrict genuine independence and self-management activities of state enterprises will be eliminated lock, stock, and barrel. The principle of financial autonomy will be consistently observed. It is also necessary to establish how far it is useful in the new situation for ministries and the people's councils to fulfill the role of the so-called founding bodies of enterprises and whether it would be desirable to relieve state enterprises of such patronage and to entrust that role to the State Treasury. Self-management bodies organized by the work forces in state enterprises should be developed and strengthened. Experience shows that strong workers councils and competent and energetic managers always correctly relate the interests of the work forces to the longterm interests of enterprises.

We will introduce new and unconventional forms of work organization (such as the brigade system, for example,) that strongly motivate workers to work effectively, and we will create opportunities for leasing out individual production shops or entire production plants. We will back initiatives seeking to change state enterprises into joint stock companies in which workers, the State Treasury, and other economic units can participate.

9. Local bodies enjoy great opportunities to stimulate and promote economic activities. We should now create technical and fiscal conditions to encourage the population and cooperative organizations to modernize, expand, and construct food processing plants and service facilities in villages and small townships. These plants and facilities should be based on farm produce and should cater to the needs of the rural population. Efforts to ensure new sources of stable and suitably large incomes for the rural population will not only promote its economic advancement, but also will make it easier to concentrate land at purely agricultural farms.

It is just as important for local bodies to stimulate the development of the production of building materials and to increase the potential of construction facilities. In order to eliminate the housing deadlock it is necessary to carry out radical organizational changes in housing construction. One way to do that is to transform the existing general construction enterprises into engineering enterprises whose task is to create infrastructure facilities. The remaining construction assets would be leased out or sold to groups of foremen, workers' teams, or private firms and companies. The local authorities should also promote the establishment of companies (with the participation of the people's councils) which would deal with the infrastructure and sales of construction sites.

10. The great extent to which the Polish economy has been monopolized is a danger to the economic reform and hinders the development of competition and, thereby, the correct functioning of the market. Monopolist structures should be eliminated within the next 2 years. Compulsory brokerage should be done away with wherever possible. The problem of "intermediate echelons" should be solved radically throughout the entire economy. One way to do that is to eliminate the addition of extra costs to the basic costs of financing various compulsory groups and unions. A law should be passed to the effect that all intermediate echelons and structures will be eliminated as of 1 January 1989.

11. The development of economic conditions and the fact that enterprises should focus their attention on the flow of goods, do not diminish the central authorities' responsibility for the choice of correct policies and for the effectiveness of socioeconomic development. This calls for a qualitative change in the ways in which the center can influence the economy. Despite the changes at the central level, the center's impact on the economy is the weakest point of the process of reform. It is necessary to adapt the organization and powers of the central state bodies to the new principles of the performance of the economy. One task in this connection is to transform the Planning Commission into the Central Planning Office [Centralny Urzad Planowania] and to turn this office into a staff body. Another task in this connection is to transform the nature of the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy, and other ministries, and to change the substance and methods of their

work. Raising the quality of preparatory work and simplifying the procedures of decisionmaking should ensure the high efficiency, stability, and cohesion of institutional solutions.

Report-making and control checks should be curbed to a necessary minimum. It is necessary to review the legal system of the reform to ensure that regulations do not hinder various changes. The realization of the economic reform must be radical, but must be based on legal enactments. The legal system can threaten the reform only if its norms are devised by bureaucrats for bureaucrats. We should draw the necessary conclusions from that experience for the benefit of running the process of reforms in our country.

V. Better Exploitation of Resources: Immediate Measures and Restructuring the Economy

12. It is necessary to increase the flow of the production elements in short supply, such as raw and other materials, fuels, energy, and manpower, to the food economy and housing construction. At present, this can be done only by reducing the flow of those elements to other sectors of the economy.

It is necessary to:

—Halt the production of the most material- and energy-intensive articles, mainly those of the cement industry, metallurgy, heavy chemistry, and so on, so that the savings in materials and energy can be used by the consumption, agricultural, and construction industries;

—Devote some of the materials, energy, and production potential used by the defense industry for the production of consumer goods, especially of durables;

Reduce the level of investments and eliminate administrative construction. In the case of investments paid for out of the state budget, decisions should be reached by administrative means. On the other hand, enterprise investments should be reduced with the help of economic instruments. These reductions should not slow down modernization projects. The ban on construction should not apply to environmental protection, the processing and storage of food and construction materials, and projects financed by foreign enterprises. The materials and equipment thus saved should be earmarked for housing construction instead.

—Permit a full use of the existing capacity of small and medium-size enterprises that manufacture building materials (for example, brickworks) but were immobilized last year.

13. The Polish economy is faced with a serious energy threat. Unless radical action is undertaken within the next 3-4 years, the fuel and energy balance sheet could collapse. Overcoming this danger is no longer possible just by increasing energy output. There is only one path of action now—to rationalize the consumption of energy and reduce the energy intensiveness of the national product. Immediate results can be achieved without any outlay. However, the long-term solution is to replace energy with more modern technology.

The following are among the immediate actions that can be undertaken quickly:

—A rationalization of railroad shipments. Experts believe that this could save about 3 million tonnes of coking coal a year. Central decisions are required in this matter, decisions that would back a suitable program worked out by the Polish State Railroad;

—A rationalization of road transport, especially so-called economic transport, as a result of which about 100,000 tonnes of gasoline and 500,000 tonnes of engine oil could be saved per year. This means that the so-called economic transport must be halved. The redundant vehicles could then be auctioned off.

Furthermore, it is necessary to prepare a strategic energy savings program, based on the recommendations of experts. Where investments are essential, they should be concentrated on spheres that bring the fastest and biggest results, for example the modernization of furnaces and boilers in industry and power generation.

It is also necessary to adjust foreign goods turnover from the point of view of the energy balance sheet.

14. The manpower shortage in many areas is the chief barrier to the production of consumer goods (for example in Lodz) and to housing construction (for example in Warsaw). Breaking these barriers and establishing a labor market is essential in order to increase management efficiency.

This calls for, among other things:

—The closure of inefficient and technologically outdated plants. Such closures should take place first of all in large conurbations (Warsaw, Lodz, Gdansk, Katowice), where there is a chronic and steadily increasing manpower shortage. The redundant workers should then be directed to more efficient enterprises, with a more modern production apparatus. This will increase social productivity and the incomes of workers;

—Further employment cuts in the administration, intermediary bodies, and control apparatus;

—The elimination of formal barriers to the employment of pensioners, and the possibility for pensioners and women to work under favorable conditions, for example in part-time employment;

—The abolition or amendment of labor code provisions that prevent the dismissal of inefficient employees and prevent enterprises from adapting the size of their work forces to their real production needs;

—The abolition of rules which prevent one employee from performing several functions, even if such a performance lies in the interests of the employee and his enterprise.

A mechanism for healing enterprises and another one for liquidating them should become a permanent, systemic way of effectively using production resources. There should be sharper sanctions against enterprises that are economically diseased and have no real prospects of healing. The practice of prolonging healing processes should be discontinued.

Therefore, an appropriate credits policy vis-a-vis enterprises should be pursued. This policy should include the following principles:

—Preferential treatment for highly efficient enterprises,

—New leases of life for enterprises with only temporary economic difficulties and with the desire and ability to resolve these difficulties themselves,

—A firm application of economic rules to permanently inefficient economic units, including the rules on liquidation.

15. A thorough restructuring of the economy should be undertaken urgently. The results of this will only be visible years later. Restructuring will be one of the chief paths of the 1991-5 National Socioeconomic Plan. There should be reduced outlay on the raw material and material processing industries and at the same time there should be internal restructuring (for example, in the steel industry) and greater outlay on:

—The manufacture of new materials and semi-finished goods that involve less energy consumption and are more durable and easier to use;

—The introduction of less material-intensive and less energy-intensive technologies;

—The creation of an infrastructure that permits optimum use of the resources already at our disposal, for example cold storage facilities in the food industry, the high-tension electricity transmission network, equipment for enriching the quality of coal, and so on, and is kind to the environment at the same time;

—The expansion of industries which possess technology of the highest standard and which have been developed on the basis of foreign capital, among other things;

—Priority spheres, in other words agriculture and the food industry, housing construction, environmental protection, and exports.

Environmental protection should be a major consideration during the restructuring process. Activity aimed at halting environmental damage and improving the environment must be accompanied by the creation of new branches of the national economy based on modern technology, which would be a source of income for society and would protect the environment at the same time by utilizing by-products and waste.

The process of restructuring the economy should be closely coordinated with modernization and capital spending. It should make use of the latest achievements of science and technology.

VI. Balancing Out the Economy and Strengthening the Zloty

16. A process of healing the zloty begin. This involves: First, restoring the zloty's ability to fulfill the basic functions of currency as a medium of exchange; second, radically reducing the zloty's depreciation (and later on, making it stable); and third, achieving within the next 5-7 years a limited convertibility, and in the future the full convertibility, of the zloty.

Of fundamental importance is a balancing out of the market by, on the one hand, increasing production and supply to the maximum degree, and on the other hand, adapting demand to the supply of goods and services to the market. A constant rise in the supply of goods and services and a general improvement in economic management are the prime conditions necessary for a strengthening of the zloty. But these are not enough. It is also necessary to introduce the kind of prices and incomes policy and financial policy that provide incentives to increase production and, at the same time, guarantee that inflation will be "extinguished" and demand and supply equalized.

17. In order to halt the inflation spiral, a major turnabout in incomes policy is required. The following are necessary in particular:

—The introduction of and subsequent adherence to the principle that on a national scale, one can only distribute what has been produced and earmarked for distribution. The emission of money that has no backing should not take place at all;

—The creation of strong incentives to develop production and improve management in all sectors of the economy. People should have equal chances of earning money and building up their incomes, regardless of which sector they work in;

—Altering the system of social benefits in order to eliminate the obstacles that hamper gainful employment and reduce productivity, and clarify people's entitlements to benefits.

The present system of "index-linking" incomes is incompatible with the principles of balancing out the economy and overcoming inflation. Those professional groups that have won for themselves an "index-linking" of their incomes now expect pay rises not because they are producing more, but because other professional groups have had pay rises. This serves to boost inflation. The extent of this index-linking should be reduced, especially in the production sphere. However, the principle of increasing old-age and disability pensions and family benefits in line with increases in the cost of living should be continued.

18. Price policy should be geared toward a gradual return of market equilibrium, but at the same time it should lead to a slowing down of price increases. The success of this policy depends mainly on whether wage rises and the issue of money are kept within economically justifiable limits. The economic energy of various sectors and growing market competition will encourage the pursuance of this policy.

During the period of transition, in other words the period of achieving a normal market and full competition, the state must have greater influence over the shaping of prices than it has had so far. A varied approach toward prices is planned, depending on the degree of equilibrium and monopoly enjoyed by a given sector of the market, and on its social significance.

Generally, it is held that prices, shaped either by the domestic market, or the foreign market, or even by a state administrative body, should be a factor that determines an enterprise's relations with the outside world. This means a final end to the shaping of prices as a result of production costs.

The prices of basic food items should continue to be official prices, just like so far. Market prices, without official administrative intervention, will be applied to goods and services that are already stable and competitive. But state intervention will occur in spheres that are dominated by a monopoly or are in a state of extreme disequilibrium, in order to set an upper limit for price increases. Market equilibrium prices will be applied to above-average or luxury goods. But here, the state will claim back a major part of the price in the form of value added tax.

It is recommended that the idea of the Chief Technical Organization be considered during work on specific solutions in the sphere of prices. This idea calls for a separate tax levied on that part of enterprise profits earned because of price increases (a high, progressive rate of tax), and a separate tax on that part of their profits earned because of a quantitative increase in production and a real improvement in management (a low, regressive rate of tax).

19. The cast-iron rule in monetary and credit policy should be that the size of loans provided by banks should be dependent on the size of the economically sound resources accumulated in the banking system—that is, reserves that are backed by the goods and services available in the marketplace. This means that in light of the current situation, so-called forced savings, which have arisen as a result of shortages of goods, cannot be considered a source for larger loans.

Institutional checks for preventing an excessive influx of money into the economy should be strengthened. The Polish National Bank will be made fully independent of government. It will be responsible before the Sejm for monetary policy and will be held to account for the way in which the guardian of the national currency discharges its duties. The supply of money, regulated by the National Bank according to principles approved by the Sejm, must be considered a "boundary condition" for economic expansion by the government and the entire administrative apparatus. Legislative measures should be taken to eliminate the possibility of state budget expenditure releasing "worthless money" into circulation. A complete stop should be put to the practice of using pseudo-credits to make up for budget shortfalls. This applies to investment as well as current operations. This has to be completely clear, and it lies in the interests of society, the economy, and the state.

20. A strict balanced budget policy should be pursued. There must be a radical reduction in the level of national income distribution via the state budget and the transfer of financial resources from efficient enterprises, which are highly taxed, to loss-making enterprises in the form of subsidies and tax concessions.

A lower taxation policy must be accompanied by a policy of economies and usefulness with respect to state budget expenditure. The budget should create new sources of income and not just drain away existing ones. With a view toward achieving this goal, treasury bonds, that would be freely acquired by the population and economic units in all sectors, including banks, should be issued. Within the framework of the Finance Ministry, the "State Treasury" should acquire the status of a legal person that will acquire deeds of ownership for state enterprises from parent bodies. The State Treasury will be able to sell, rent, and lease state enterprises, shares in corporations, and other components of national property. It will also be able to make purchases and conduct financial operations in the marketplace. State Treasury activity will enable the state to exercise a market influence on the economy and to strengthen the budget.

21. A fundamental reorganization of loan and savings policy is essential. Beginning in 1989, there should be a realistic, additional fixed-term interest rate on savings (deposits) and loans. This means that interest rates should be higher than the rate of inflation. Citizens should feel secure that by saving they are not losing out as a result of the growth of prices. At the same time, banks should not be allowed to make losses, because of lower interest rates on loans, which would mean that the difference would have to be made up out of the budget. In this way, society would be subsidizing those who take out loans.

It is necessary to significantly reduce the extent of concessionary interest rates on loans for special social needs (for example, housing loans), and production loans (for example, investment loans for farmers for the purpose of bringing farm land into cultivation).

A sound monetary policy will be aided by the institution of banking reforms next year. This particularly applies to separating deposit and loans functions (which will be the domain of commercial credit banks) from the function of issuing money (which will be performed by the Polish National Bank). This should ease pressure on the banking system and prevent the creation of money that has no backing. The reorganization of the banking system will create conditions for truly partner-like relations between banks and enterprises.

22. Extensive opportunities will be created for the population to invest money in development-oriented ventures organized by economic units, development agencies, and banks in various sectors. The following are essential in order to accelerate the development of the capital market and to create conditions for the transfer of liquid financial assets or capital that is being used less efficiently to areas where standards of efficiency are higher:

—simplified procedures for the issuing of bonds by units in the socialized economy;

—the sale of shares by companies and guarantees that they can be freely circulated;

—the organization of a consultancy that will assist the launching and implementation of new financial and capital initiatives.

23. Clear regulations and stable financial mechanisms should exist for all economic units. A review should be urgently conducted of the methods used to calculate production costs so that they truly reflect the amount of live and materialized labor invested and not margins that are added in a fairly arbitrary way. There should also be a reorganization of the principles governing payments between economic units in order to eliminate the possibility of creating money that has no backing in the form of goods and services.

The taxation system will be simplified and the tax burden lowered. There will be a significant reduction in the extent to which tax concessions and production subsidies are provided. Both concessions and subsidies will be commodity related, that is, they will be provided for specific goods and services and not for the economic units producing them.

Financial mechanisms and procedures that essentially have the effect of "penalizing" high efficiency and compensating (for example, in the form of higher subsidies) bad producers when their production costs increase must be quickly removed from economic practice. A fundamental reorganization of enterprise financial systems will expose the inefficiency of various units, enterprises, and economic organizations. They will then be faced with the alternative of improving efficiency and attaining favorable results or disappearing from the surface of economic life.

VII Opening Up to the World, Surmounting the Debt Obstacle

24. Poland should fully participate in international economic life and systematically increase its role in the world division of labor. Access to foreign markets means access to modern goods and technology. Cooperation with foreign countries also means having to meet the high requirements of world markets. Thus, it is something that provides a stimulus for technical and economic progress. An open economy also means increasing competition in the domestic market, which is essential for bringing about the reformed economy.

25. The Soviet Union will remain our most important partner. It is Poland's intention to engage in the increasingly comprehensive development of cooperation with CEMA countries. What matters in particular is adopting an offensive-like approach to addressing and solving problems pertaining to scientific and technical progress and resolute progress in the sphere of specialization and cooperation based on modern technology and modern production techniques. It is also a question of overcoming formal obstacles and solving the financial and currency problems that currently create the greatest problems for the development of direct cooperation between enterprises. Furthermore, it is also a question of creating mixed enterprises and joint financial and production organizations geared toward accomplishing modern undertakings. Poland is in favor of the convertibility of national currencies and the creation of a common market for socialist countries.

26. Overcoming the debt obstacle and normalizing economic relations with capitalist states are our most serious problems. Although we have been allocating about $2 billion annually for the servicing of our debt over the last few years, the debt is continually growing. Poland is resolutely honoring and has expressly declared its readiness to honor its foreign obligations. However, repayments cannot be made at the expense of the population's

standard of living and prospects for national development. It is not possible to curb imports further. Thus, the only path leading to the resolution of the debt problem is the one based on an expansion of export capacity and a rapid growth in profitable exports to Western countries. However, this depends on both the effectiveness of the economic policy—this particularly applies to its export-oriented character—and domestic institutional mechanisms as well as the influx of foreign capital.

Poland has already instituted a policy of boosting exports. This course will be continued. Organizational and economic restructuring and a policy of introducing structural changes will provide a strong impetus to boosting profitable exports to markets in capitalist countries. This is in line with our priorities. The expansion of profitable exports should not interfere with improving supplies to the marketplace. On the contrary, suitably oriented export-import transactions should significantly enrich the domestic market.

27. An active policy will be pursued with respect to the acquisition of foreign capital. Work on a law regulating the the scope of the activities of foreign agencies and the principles and procedures governing their operations should be urgently completed. Appropriate conditions should be created for both independent foreign enterprises and for companies in which there is a Polish capital share in various forms (state, cooperative, or private). It is better to have several dozen or even several hundred enterprises, employing thousands of Poles, that are completely or partially foreign-owned than to have to accept the emigration of people—especially young people—abroad.

Economic policy will also encourage the creation of duty-free zones or zones for intensive economic development—such as the Szczecin initiative, for example.

28. The consolidation plan should serve as the cornerstone for the formulation—in conjunction with the IMF—of an adjustment program that would set out a strategy for solving Poland's debt problem and take account of the normalization of financial and credit relations with creditor countries and the need to support our country's efforts with credits from the IMF and the World Bank.

29. The implementation of the consolidation plan and the changes to economic structures and shifts in the relative importance of the various sectors of the economy, which are an integral part of it, might encounter resistance on the part of those social and vocational groups that will lose their privileged position as a result. There might also be opposition from work forces that will be forced to change their occupations, and places and conditions of employment. The ability to resolve conflicts between the interests of specific groups and the general public interest will have a decisive bearing on the success of the consolidation plan.

Thus, what is essential is a further democratization of sociopolitical life, the creation of conditions and forums for the articulation of the interests and aspirations of various social groups, and the creation of political institutions and mechanisms that will facilitate the resolution of these conflicts and the attainment of the best possible outcome for society.

The plan for the consolidation of the economy, and in particular those of its provisions that will be the most effective in influencing the situation of working people and their level of commitment to improving the health of the economy on the one hand, and the satisfaction of needs on the other hand, should be the subject of a new social contract.

It lies in the highest national interest that the issues raised by the consolidation of the national economy should be the subject of a "roundtable" meeting and national accord.

Dascalescu Continues Visit to Syria

Tours Damascus Units

AU0811210488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2011 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Text] Damascus, AGERPRES, 8/11/1988—The official visit Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu is paying to the Syrian Arab Republic continued on Tuesday, November 8, with a working programme. He saw round the textile enterprise in Damascus, the largest suchlike unit in Syria. In his talk with executives there and with decisionmakers in the national company to which the respective unit belongs Premier Constantin Dascalescu highlighted the powerful development of textile industry in Romania, in line with the rapid growth of the economy as a whole. He also underscored possibilities of achieving a productive, mutually advantageous collaboration between Romanian and Syrian textile units.

He also visited a number of representative sociocultural units in Damascus. The same day, Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu and Syrian Prime Minister Mahmud al-Zu'bi paid a visit to the town of Quneitra.

Talks With Al-Asad

AU0811210788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2033 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Text] Damascus, AGERPRES, 8/11/1988—On Tuesday, November 8, the president of the Syrian Arab Republic, Hafiz al-Asad, received Romania's Prime Minister, Constantin Dascalescu, now on an official visit to Syria at the invitation of that country's prime minister. On the occasion the Syrian head of state were conveyed, on behalf of Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu, a warm message of friendship, best wishes of health and personal happiness, of new and great successes in his activity devoted to the progress and prosperity of the friendly Syrian people.

Warmly thanking for the message conveyed, the president of the Syrian Arab Republic sent the Romanian head of state a warm salute of friendship, wishes of health, personal happiness and success, and the friendly Romanian people new achievements on the path of prosperity and progress.

During the talk held on the occasion, reference was made to the relations of close friendship between President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Hafiz al-Asad. The firm wish was expressed to continue the Romanian-Syrian fruitful dialogue established between the two state leaders, in the interest of the more powerful development of the ties of close cooperation between the two countries. Reference was also made that President Nicolae Ceausescu attaches a special importance to the deepening and diversification of the relations between Romania and Syria, to give them a continuous upward course of stability and perspective.

Emphasis was placed on the two countries' efforts to identify further ways and modalities of solving economic problems of mutual interest with a view to further developing bilateral ties, more particularly in cooperation in production. In that context, it was considered that with the experience acquired that far and the growing economic potential of the two countries as a basis, further major industrial and farming projects could be achieved in cooperation, to stand for a live expression of the links of close friendship and cooperation between the two countries and peoples.

Furthermore, real possibilities were shown to exist for the development of commercial exchanges. During the interview, the two countries' current concerns for socioeconomic development were surveyed.

At the same time, opinions were exchanged on major issues of the international life. In that framework, the Syrian president expressed high appreciation for Romania's consistent stance on and President Nicolae Ceausescu's tireless activity for the settlement of the states of conflict in the world and placed emphasis on his contribution to the peaceful, negotiated settlement of Middle East issues, to the promotion of a climate of international peace, security and collaboration.

Details on Pay Increase in Oil, Light Industry

AU0711130588 [Editorial Report] Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 4 November, under the headline "Further Categories of Working People Benefit From Pay Rise," carries on page 5 a 600-word report made up of two tables illustrating how the recent second stage of the pay increase, that became effective on 1 November, is being implemented in the oil industry and in light industry.

According to the report, a worker's lowest base pay in the oil industry before the pay increase was 2,004 lei and the highest was 2,238 lei, while after the increase the lowest base pay is 2,405 lei and the highest is 2,649 lei.

In light industry, a worker's base pay before the pay increase was 2,111 lei, while after the increase it is 2,512 lei.

The item ends with the following note: "The increased base pays also incorporates compensations granted in conformity with State Council Decrees No. 46/1982 and 240/1982.

"In case plan tasks have not been fulfilled, remuneration will be paid in conformity with legal provisions."

Leaders' Public Appearances for 30 Oct-4 Nov

AU0511165888 [Editorial Report] Romania media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 30 October-4 November period (sourceline given in parentheses):

Stefan Andrei, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and deputy prime minister of Romania and Gheorghe Radulescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee attended a Bucharest festive meeting devoted to the 71th anniversary of the Great October Socialist revolution on 4 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1940 GMT 4 Nov 88)

President Nicolae Ceausescu received Pierre Aubert, former president of the Swiss Confederation on 1 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1824 GMT 1 Nov 88)

President Nicolae Ceausescu received the president and the vice president of the Australian coal company BHP-Utah Coal Lmt on 3 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1739 GMT 2 Nov 88)

President Nicolae Ceausescu received Robert McKinley, vice president of the British Aerospace Industrial Group on 4 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1852 GMT 4 Nov 88)

Gheorghe David, first deputy prime minister of the Romanian Government received Damascus governor on 2 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 2 Nov 88)

Neculai Ibanescu, deputy prime minister of Romania, attended an Algerian Embassy reception on the National Day of the Algerian People's Democratic Republic on 2 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0845 GMT 2 Nov 88)

Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation met with Israeli officials in Tel Aviv on 3 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1945 GMT 3 Nov 88)

TANJUG Views Bush Election Victory

LD0911104688 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0939 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] Washington, Nov 9 (TANJUG)—George Bush is the new president of the United States. He scored a convincing victory in this year's electoral political marathon and, for the first time in forty years, secured the Republican Party its third consecutive mandate in the White House.

Bush received the necessary number of votes in the so-called Electoral College at yesterday's elections, the results of which became known during the night, and won 54 to 46 of the popular vote, securing victory over his Democratic rival Michael Dukakis.

Bush won the presidential elections in the United States by pledging to continue President Ronald Reagan's policy. Bush was vice president in Reagan's administration.

Bush was the first presidential candidate to enjoy the strong and active support of the outgoing president during the campaign. Reagan used to say that he was participating in this year's campaign as if he himself were a presidential candidate.

Bush's victory at this year's presidential election has interrupted the tradition of a vice-president never being directly elected during the elections for president of the U.S.A. The last person who succeeded in this was Martin van Buren in 1836.

In the first speech he delivered as the sure winner of the presidential elections, Bush repeated his pledge given at the New Orleans convention that he would continue to rally for a kinder and gentler nation and said he wanted to act as president for the entire nation and not only his party followers. In keeping with U.S. tradition, he was surrounded by his family while delivering his speech. He also announced he would work again for an America that was strong and resolute in the world, strong and bighearted at home.

Analysts assess that Bush was victorious also largely due to the fact that the U.S. is currently not at war with any nation and that there is a relaxation on the international scene. As far as home policies are concerned, Americans are satisfied with the economic policy and progress made during the Reagan administration despite continuing major problems such as the budget and trade deficits.

George Bush will take up presidential duties after the inauguration on January 20. In the meantime, state affairs will be conducted by the outgoing administration.

Loncar Meets With FRG President in Bonn

LD0811221988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1812 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Text] Bonn, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—This evening in Bonn, Richard von Weizsaecker, FRG president, received Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, with whom he discussed issues of cooperation between the two countries and the EC's relations with Yugoslavia and the Nonaligned Movement.

Von Weizsaecker stressed, Yugoslav diplomatic circles report, the friendly relations between the two countries and said that Bonn is watching Yugoslavia's development with unchanged interest and sympathy, and that it supports attempts to overcome its difficulties.

The Federal president also paid tribute to Yugoslavia for the advancement of cooperation in the Balkans and showed particular interest in preparations for holding the ninth summit meeting in Belgrade.

It is stated that Loncar acquainted Von Weizsaecker with developments within the Nonaligned Movement and with its wish to establish political dialogue with all world factors, among whom the European Twelve occupy a particularly important position.

A group of Bundestag deputies for cooperation with Yugoslavia [as received], led by Hans-Peter Repnik, showed particular interest, at a lunch with Loncar, in the internal situation in Yugoslavia. They, like Horst Ehmke, deputy chairman of the SPD in the Bundestag, whom the federal secretary met separately, wished to learn firsthand about assessments as to whether the 17th LCY Central Committee session has undergone a change of direction in favor of stabilization.

Loncar explained to them, as he also did at a meeting with Hans Stercken, chairman of the parliamentary committee for foreign policy, that in Yugoslavia conceptual dilemmas have mainly been overcome regarding the three reforms and that the orientation for a market economy contained within itself an opening up toward the world and more intensive links with foreign economic partners, especially the EEC and the FRG.

Commentary Assesses FRG Ties

AU0611201588 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 6 Nov 88

[Branislav Canak commentary]

[Text] As for relations with Yugoslavia, the FRG always emphasizes Bonn's great interest in the maintenance of the internal and external stability of our country. Yugoslavia's stability is explained (?as) an important factor of the political equilibrium in Europe. These assessments, which are not only made by politicians in the FRG, clearly express Yugoslavia's importance as a nonaligned, socialist, and European country in maintaining the political statics of the old continent, as Chancellor Kohl said during his visit to Belgrade in 1985.

The FRG, as well as the rest of the world, has been carefully following events that marked Yugoslavia's political summer and fall. In addition to some ill-intended analyses, there have also been objective analyses of our situation which, together with those that were ill-intended, created a certain level of mistrust, especially in business circles. It has also been noticed that ordinary citizens, who are traditional and the most numerous guests on the Adriatic coast, are booking their vacations for the next summer season in Yugoslavia more cautiously and slowly.

Bearing all this in mind, as well as the fact that the FRG is one of our most important business partners, the visit to Bonn by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, will be a special opportunity to eliminate some unfounded doubts about the political and economic stability of Yugoslavia, and at the same time to brief the hosts on the basic direction of our reforms.

Many FRG businessmen eagerly await the new systemic laws which should, among other things, radically change conditions for investing foreign capital in the Yugoslav economy.

One should not forget an important and continuous dialogue which we have been conducting with the FRG concerning our main relations with the EC, a dialogue which will undoubtedly be on the agenda of the Loncar-Genscher talks.

As far as bilateral relations are concerned, one should point out the topics that concern our people temporarily working in the FRG. Negotiations on an agreement on the reintegration of these workers are currently being held. This agreement should facilitate the return of these workers to Yugoslavia and their inclusion in economic life.

We are also interested in hearing something about the possible implications of the new law on foreigners which, despite the fact that it has been in draft form for an unusually long period of time, has already caused uneasiness and uncertainty among the foreigners.

In addition to the importance which both sides attach to bilateral relations, the importance of international issues will also be regarded as an equally important topic in the Loncar-Genscher talks.

FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher recently returned from Moscow and Beijing and will probably be able to say something about his impressions. On the other hand, Yugoslavia has already started intensive preparations for hosting a nonaligned countries' summit next year in Belgrade, and therefore the activities of the movement will also be on the agenda.

Further on Remarks by Slovenia's Stanovnik

Belgrade Officials Condemn Remarks

AU0711155588 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Nov 88

[Excerpts] The public debate on the draft amendments to the Serbian Constitution has been conducted in a democratic and well-argued manner in Belgrade. There were many proposals and new initiatives. This was concluded at the session of the Belgrade SAWP which discussed the results of the 3-month-long public debate. [passage omitted]

Aleksandar Prlja, president of the Belgrade SAWP Section for Information, spoke about the recent talks Janez Stanovnik, president of the Slovene Presidency, held with the press and George Shultz during his visit to the United States. Stanovnik incorrectly described the situation in Yugoslavia to very influential officials in Washington and the representatives of the most influential journalist core. Stanovnik said among other things that recent demonstrations were caused by inflation while the real reasons were in fact wishes for constitutional changes in Serbia. At the conclusion Prlja said that he hopes that the highest federal organs will discuss this improper behavior by the prominent official.

Belgrade Mayor Aleksandar Bakocevic also spoke about Stanovnik's statements, which have received great publicity in the country. His speech could be summarized as follows: Incorrect and malicious statements only feed the foreign and domestic press and represent an attempt to demonstrate that the country is ridden with divisions and disunity.

[Begin Bakocevic recording] I think that many people will want to see a prompt public reaction by the leading organs in the SR of Slovenia and the SFRY to this kind of behavior by Comrade Stanovnik, which would in this way defend the reputation and political-ethical integrity of the leaderships. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Veterans Group Criticizes Statements

LD0711234688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1816 GMT 7 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Nov (TANJUG)—The statements by Janez Stanovnik, president of the Slovene Presidency, concerning the situation in Yugoslavia which he made during his recent private visit to the United States, are anti-Yugoslav, and we energetically condemn them. We request that the SFRY Presidency launch an initiative to establish the responsibility of Janez Stanovnik.

This is the basic message contained in a letter to the SFRY Presidency and to the LCY Central Committee Presidium which veterans, who are members of the section of the Proletarian Brigades of the Yugoslav National Liberation Army and who live in Belgrade, sent from the meeting they held this evening. In their letter the veterans ask why it is that so far not one official organ of authority and of the party has reacted to the statements made by Janez Stanovnik. The letter also says that the veterans of this country, who gave their lives and shed their blood in founding it, cannot calmly turn a blind eye to the open statements, the aim of which is the break-up of Yugoslavia.

Such statements, it was said in the emotionally charged discussion, are part of the plot against Yugoslavia, which has its continuity, and they demonstrate that in this country there are strong currents whose aim is the destruction of the Yugoslavia which was created in the revolution. The demand was made that the LCY Central Committee publicly state what these forces and currents are. Presiding over the meeting, Vlado Kovacevic pointed out that Stanovnik's statements in the United States are in complete contrast to the stances of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium and that, as proletarians, we must ask ourselves what lies behind such a deed and behind Stanovnik's remarks. The question, Kovacevic said, is about a senior republican leader and, by virtue of this fact alone, about a Yugoslav official of the highest rank.

Stanovnik Defends Remarks

LD0811234488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1908 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—This evening Janez Stanovnik, president of the SR of Slovenia Presidency, spoke for Ljubljana television's first and second news programs about his statements during his recent visit to the United States. These statements have caused considerable reverberations in foreign and Yugoslav media.

"Learning that I was coming to Washington, and because of the great interest in Yugoslav developments, particularly in Slovenia, our ambassador in the United States took the initiative to arrange several appearances for me, which I accepted."

"With regard to my talks with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, I must say that I informed the federal secretary for foreign affairs and the president of the SFRY Presidency about my departure, as is the normal duty of every political official," stressed Stanovnik, among other things.

Replying to the statement by Ljubljana radio and television journalist Tadej Labernik that individuals in the press are even making the criticism that it was a question of seeking some kind of alliance on behalf of some sort of coalition within Yugoslavia which, allegedly, is seeking allies abroad, Stanovnik said that "such insinuations are simply not serious. It should be known above all that large states in particular have well-defined foreign policy parameters, and so it is particularly frivolous to expect them to play with foreign policy in such a way, or if you wish, to play with international security issues."

"My talks with Shultz focused mainly on Yugoslavia's current political, social, and economic development trends. As an economist, he was primarily interested in my assessment of current developments in Yugoslavia. You should also be aware of the fact that Shultz has long been acquainted with Yugoslavia, which he has often visited. He also spoke with me about his meeting with President Tito, for whom he has incrediby high respect. In fact he was interested first of all in what I described to him as my moderately optimistic assessment of our current situation."

In response to criticism from part of the Yugoslav press about Stanovnik's assessment of the situation before and after the 17th LCY Central Committee session and his alleged statement that this session had been a settling of accounts with the Serbian leadership, and his alleged assessment of the possibility of civil war in this country, for events in Serbia would directly contribute to national conflicts in Bosnia, the president of the Slovene Presidency said the following:

"Listen, first of all I could not have said that the 17th session was a settling of accounts with the Serbian leadership, because it was not. However, it is true that I gave my assessment of the serious situation in Yugoslavia before the session. You all know that the president of the SFRY Presidency warned the whole world public, and especially the Yugoslav public, of the seriousness of the situation. It is understandable that the world also wanted an explanation from me. My interpretation is that the 17th session was a historic one, and that being historic, it made a very important contribution. As Secretary Shultz stressed, 'the dust began to settle.' This means that the 17th session opened the way for more positive and complex development in Yugoslavia. The development of events before the session was, in my opinion, quite dangerous. The session, however, achieved an exceptionally positive change of direction. Nothing that could be an attack on the Serbian leadership could have come from Washington," stressed Stanovnik.

"It is, however, true that abroad things are not identified by false names. They are called by their real names, and those names have appeared in the press. It is also clear that the names of leading Yugoslav politicians have appeared. You know, in the West you are allowed to speak for 10 to 15 minutes. Then you answer questions for an hour or two. And you cannot predict the question yourself. Neither can you say to anyone that that name is taboo, I must not mention it."

Speaking about the condemnations of various manifestations of unity and loyalty toward the Serbian leadership, as part of the way the media reported his statement in Washington, Stanovnik said: "That, however, is another matter.... In replying to questions I often interpreted the mass manifestations which occurred in Serbia. It is not correct that I said, as I read somewhere in the press, that, allegedly, inflation is the cause of these mass phenomena. I consider that I am still normal and that I do not yet require the attention of a psychiatrist. It must be clear to everyone that behind this lies the unresolved Kosovo problem, that the reason for those manifestations is the concern of the Serbian nation for its destiny. Of course, I also spoke about the sensitive economic situation. I warned that in such a situation, when inflation is increasingly eating away personal incomes, political unrest is even more dangerous."

Stanovnik then turned to "the border between personal rights and one's subjective stance, on one hand, and one's duty to the state, on the other." "An official cannot be a 'private citizen' from the moment he is elected to office. That moment he becomes state property. I am well aware of the fact that when I am outside Yugoslavia's borders I have obligations to my homeland. And my homeland is Yugoslavia. Outside Yugoslavia's borders I am in the first place a Yugoslav citizen, but I cannot hide the fact that a Slovene mother gave birth to me."

Stanovnik also mentioned his many years of activity in the European Economic Commission and UNCTAD. "Is it wrong that I was executive secretary of the European Economic Commission for 15 years and before that the personal adviser to UNCTAD's general secretary? It is no great secret that I receive a pension for this from the United Nations. The more financially secure I am, the less vulnerable I am to corruption."

In reply to the question as to whether the criticisms directed at him did not seem to him to be a part of some wider campaign, Janez Stanovnik answered that it all seemed to him to be like the saying: When someone throws mud in your face, the more you try to wipe it off, the dirtier you become. That is why one should turn around and go one's own way," said Stanovnik, ending his reply to Ljubljana radio and television.

FEC Urged To Set Deadlines for Reform Laws

LD0411223488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1555 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Nov (TANJUG)—The FEC must select from the proposed systemic laws on economic reform those which must be adopted by the end of this year. This was the conclusion drawn today at the session between Dusan Popovski, president of the SFRY Assembly, and the presidents of the chambers and their working bodies.

The minimum number of these laws must also be consistent in order to guarantee the opening of the way to economic reform. A schedule must be proposed for considering and adopting other laws, which are not so urgent, the session also concluded, assessing that everyone must be mobilized in order to set deadlines and adopt the best solutions.

Statistics Institute Data on August Incomes

AU0711200388 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5-6 Nov 88 p 16

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Nov (TANJUG)—The average salary of a Yugoslav worker in August was 462,729 dinars. Workers in the economic sector received 457,981 dinars, while those working in the noneconomic sector, which leads the table in terms of qualifications, received an average salary of 487,392 dinars. In presenting these figures, the Federal Institute for Statistics did not say anything about how much real personal income had "eroded" in relation to August of last year.

Personal incomes in Slovenia are twice as high as those in the extreme south of the country. In Macedonia the average personal income was 320,181 dinars, while in Slovenia it was 696,894 dinars. The lowest personal incomes were in Kosovo, with 307,413 dinars. The average August personal income in Vojvodina was 418,968 dinars, and in Serbia proper 437,843 dinars. The republican average was 421,852 dinars. The average personal income in Croatia was 495,037 dinars, in Bosnia 386,896 dinars, and in Montenegro 347,308 dinars.

The best-paid workers in the January-August period were pipeline workers in Slovenia (1,041,607 dinars), while those with the lowest personal incomes were those providing personal services in Macedonia (135,062 dinars).

Suvar Visits TANJUG on 45th Anniversary

LD0511002188 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1555 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, November 4 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav party Presidency President Stipe Suvar today visited TANJUG on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the Yugoslav news agency, which began transmitting the first news from the liberated town of Jajce on November 5, 1943.

Speaking about the Yugoslav news agency's development and its present-day position and role, Suvar set out that, of all Yugoslav media, TANJUG provides the most objective information about the developments in all parts of the country, which he said was of outstanding importance at this hour in Yugoslavia.

League of Communists of Yugoslavia Presidency President Suvar stressed the irreplaceable role TANJUG plays in keeping the world public informed about the developments in Yugoslavia and, in that context, set out that the Yugoslav news agency had become one of the most distinguished in the world.

In a talk with TANJUG's editorial staff, headed by Director Mihailo Saranovic and Editor-in-Chief Mladen Arnautovic, Suvar wholeheartedly upheld TANJUG's efforts to modernize itself, with a view to keeping step with time and preserving the painstakingly won prestige.

In that context, Suvar in particular lent support to TANJUG's efforts to build a new headquarters.

Hasani, Mikulic Attend Celebration

LD0511235388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1746 GMT 5 Nov 88

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 5 Nov (TANJUG)—A formal session of TANJUG's Social Council and Workers' Council was held today to mark the agency's 45th anniversary. The celebration at the Yugoslav People's Army Club in Belgrade was attended, as well as by the members of the collective, by Sinan Hasani, member of the SFRY Presidency; Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC; Bozidar Colakovic, president of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium; Marko Orlandic and Radisa Gacic, members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; and the following federal secretaries for their respective fields: Budimir Loncar, foreign affairs; Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, for national defense; and Svetozar Durutovic, for information. It was also attended by Aleksandar Bakocevic, president of the Belgrade City Assembly.

TANJUG Director Mihail Saranovic stressed in a brief speech that even today, 45 years after its foundation, the agency continues to carry out its duties with undiminished enthusiasm, loyalty, political commitment, and professionalism, bearing the brunt of its responsibility. TANJUG grew to become one of the six largest news agencies in the world and is among nine agencies which transmit news on its general service nonstop, day and night, in several world languages, cooperating with about 130 other agencies. [passage omitted]

Dizdarevic, Others Receive Olympic Athletes

LD0411052688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1233 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Nov (TANJUG)—Today in the Palace of the Federation in Belgrade, Raif Dizidarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, received a group of top Yugoslav sportsmen and sportswomen who took part in the 24th summer Olympics in Seoul and disabled sportsmen who took part in this year's top international sports events. The reception was also attended by prominent sports personalities, referees, coaches, and journalists.

Addressing the Yugoslav Olympic team, the president of the SFRY Presidency stressed, among other things, that our sportsmen and sports workers, as patriots and emmisaries, had represented our country in a harmonious and dignified manner, defended its colors, and hoisted high the flag of the SFRY.

On behalf of the sportsmen and sportswomen, Ivan Mecanovic, chairman of the Yugoslav Olympic Committee, thanked Dizdarevic for the reception and presented the president of the SFRY Presidency with valuable sports medals.

The reception also was attended by the federation's top state and party officials: Stipe Suvar, Stane Dolanc, Josip Vrhovec, Lazar Mojsov, Veselin Djuranovic, Dusan Popovski, Marjan Orozan, Velkjko Kadijevic, Dobrosav Culafic, and others.

The president of the SFRY Presidency, Raif Dizidarevic, and the country's top state and party officials spent more than an hour in a cordial conversation with the Yugoslav sportsmen and sportswomen who took part in the Olympic games. A joint photograph was taken as a momento.

Serbians Participate in 'Unofficial Referendum'

LD0411005288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1352 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Nov (TANJUG)—About 1.4 million people or one-quarter of the population of Serbia, not including the provinces, has taken part in an unofficial referendum organized at the initiative of the republican conference of the Federation of Socialist Youth of Serbia in 95 municipalities of Serbia proper, 5 in Vojvodina, and 3 in Kosovo. The results of the referendum show that 99 percent of those who took part were in favor of the four propositions suggested the following: that defense, the judiciary, and international relations in the SR of Serbia be organized on a common basis; that three chambers in the SFRY Assembly (the Chamber of Nations and Nationalities, and the Economic Chamber and the Federal Chamber); that provinces be represented in the federation as a part of the delegation of the SR of Serbia; and direct secret ballots with multiple candidate lists.

This initiative, too, was boycotted by the provincial youth leaderships, the republican conference of the Serbian Youth Federation states in an analysis document. Only 4,000 ballots (0.5 percent of these opposed the propositions) were sent from Vojvodina. All of the 520 from Kosovo were in favor of the propositions.

DNEVNIK Editorial Council Offers To Resign

LD0411141688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0109 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Summary] Novi Sad, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—The party organization of the DNEVNIK editorial board had ended its third meeting by concluding that a working group should be set up to take necessary measures and establish collective and individual responsibility for the previous editorial policy. DNEVNIK director Jovan Smederevac offered the resignation of the editorial council and suggested the formation of another one consisting of people who would make a greater contribution to the development of this newspaper publishing house. Miroslav Bozin, assistant editor in chief and acting deputy editor in chief, also tendered his resignation this evening, thus joining editor in chief Nikola Cvetkovic and deputy editor in chief Tomislav Marcinko, who have already resigned.

Klina Schoolchildren's Demand on School Name Met

LD0411222488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1920 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Text] Klina, 4 Nov (TANJUG)—Tonight the SAWP municipal conference Presidium and the socialist youth federation municipal conference Presidium of Klina accepted the demand of the pupils of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality that a procedure be initiated to change the name of the local secondary school, so that in the future this educational institution will be named Boro i Ramiz instead of Luidj Gurakuci.

Because the key demands of 508 secondary school pupils of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality have been met, it is expected that they will be back at school from Monday [7 November].

Potrc Rejects Claims on Constitutional Amendments

LD0711234088 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2105 GMT 7 Nov 88

[Text] Ljubljana, Nov 7 (TANJUG)—President of the Assembly of Slovenia Miran Potrc today described as unobjective claims by part of the Slovenian public that the adoption of amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution will endanger the sovereignty and statehood of Slovenia.

At a press conference Potrc also rejected as unobjective allegations that the proposed constitutional amendments, due to be adopted on November 29, mean a constitutional and political turnabout towards the centralisation of Yugoslavia, a country comprising six republics and two autonomous provinces.

Potrc stressed that the adoption of the draft amendments would not fundamentally change relations in the Yugoslav federation.

Potrc dismissed claims that the constitutional commission of the Slovenian Assembly, of which he is a member, had acted contrary to the stands of the Slovenian Assembly.

Slovene Delegates Demand Military Document

LD0511072988 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1800 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Excerpt] Today there was a meeting of the group of Slovene Assembly delegates whose task it is to study the circumstances and consequences of the court trial of the Ljubljana Four. Among other things, they decided to meet again next week. On that occasion they are likely to discuss the secret military document that was the cause of the Ljubljana trial.

On Monday [7 Nov] the chairman of the group of delegates will inform the Yugoslav Presidency of the beginning of the work of this commission. He will take the opportunity to reiterate the Assembly's demand that this military document be made available by the time the meeting is held. At the same time, he will make arrangements for Stane Dolanc, vice president of the Yugoslav Presidency; Janez Stanovnik, president of the Slovene Presidency; and Andrej Marinc, member of the Slovene Presidency, to attend the meeting. They should together discuss the contents of the document. [partially indistinct passage omitted]

Vojvodina LC Critiques Vojvodina Body's Session

LD0711234388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1525 GMT 7 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 7 Nov (TANJUG)—The session of the Provincial Committee of the Vojvodina LC held on 6 October which adopted the collective resignation of the Presidium of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, marked the start of a new phase in the development of political relations in the province and of togetherness in the SR of Serbia.

This is stressed in a document entitled "Elements for a Critical Assessment of the Situation in the Vojvodina LC," which a working group of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee is submitting to the plenum of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee scheduled for 9 November.

For the first time in the postwar history of Yugoslavia, the document adds, an executive-political organ at the republican or provincial level had to submit its collective resignation because of great mistakes in the implementation of LC policy. Because of the increasingly dominant dogmatic and bureaucratic attitude toward the greatest problems of the LC and society, executive-political organs had to leave office, both at the provincial level and in a number of municipalities. As well as the obvious political dissatisfaction with the leadership and the state of relations in the SR of Serbia, there was also expressed social dissatisfaction, uncertainty, and concern about the overall situation in the country. [passage omitted]

The document goes on to explain the conditions in which the Vojvodina LC leadership was operating—an increasingly strained political, economic, and social crisis. This process was characterized in particular by the growing disintegration of Yugoslav society and the tendencies of isolation within narrow communities—municipalities, provinces, and republics. This practice was also constantly noted in the work of part of the Vojvodina leadership, especially concerning the many years of mistaken policy on unity and togetherness in the SR of Serbia. [passage omitted]

Relations in the SR of Serbia, the document notes, grew particularly strained in connection with the discussion of the changes to the Serbian Constitution, when many unprincipled confrontations occurred, while the discussion itself not infrequently turned into sharp political discussions with a great deal of exclusivity and intolerance.

The leadership of the Vojvodina LC made serious mistakes and displayed weaknesses in other areas of its work, too. Although program documents were taken as a starting point, as well as the basic ideopolitical orientations of the Vojvodina LC, the Serbian LC, and the LCY, there was a lack of concrete action. With numerous meetings and conclusions the appearance of action by the provincial committee, its organs and bodies, and the organs and bodies of the municipal committees was created. Communication "from the grassroots" by means of democratic centralism became increasingly weak. [passage omitted]

After 6 October, in a number of municipalities there occurred a justified mass display of dissatisfaction and indignation of working people and citizens with the serious political and social situation in Vojvodina and in society. A positive democratic process was opened up with resolute demands for an end to old practices and for the establishment of responsibility for the errors committed and the failings of responsible political officials. The practice of many years of formalized democracy and the rejection of every critical stance toward current political trends unavoidably caused an indignant reaction among LC members, workers, working people, and citizens. At first there were exclusive and ultimatume-like demands for the replacement of all those in responsible posts. This initial wave of linear and unselective resignations was halted, and political life in the province is gradually returning to the framework of the legal political system.

In spite of this, it is noted, barriers to the work of the organs and institutions of the SAP of Vojvodina have not been completely removed. The work of individual provincial organs, as is the case with the Presidency of the SAP of Vojvodina, where the resignations of the president and three other members have been adopted, is in fact paralyzed. The assessment is also made that "it is indisputable that ethnic relations and personal relations in certain environments are no longer as stable as they were before, precisely because of the political ferment which exists. It is a question primarily of the increased politicization of a section of citizens and of phenomena of increased passivity and distancing of themselves from any political involvement". In the current situation there are also attempts to force legitimacy and social promotion for some individuals and groups who have for some time been acting from positions contrary to those of the LC and who are now, under the guise of a struggle against bureaucracy and autonomous tendencies, imposing themselves as "interpreters" and "mouthpieces" for the authentic interests of the working class and the will of the people. In this respect we are facing skillfully orchestrated and organized demagogic pressures and manipulations as well as the crude labelling of cadres and unreasoned and insulting attacks on the personal and moral integrity of people.

The document also defines the immediate tasks awaiting the Vojvodina LC arising from the clear orientation of the LC for the "three reforms".

Backa Palenka Protests Vojvodina Candidates List

LD0511073388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1937 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Excerpt] Backa Palanka, 4 Nov (TANJUG)—Today's meeting of the Backa Palanka municipal committee of the Vojvodina LC insisted on the accountability of the working group of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee "for its past mistakes, and above all for not including on the list of candidates for the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium Mihalj Kertes, secretary of the Presidium of the Backa Palanka municipal committee of the Vojvodina LC." It is also demanded that Radovan Pankov be a candidate for membership in the Serbian LC Central Committee, and Jovan Rados for membership in the LCY Central Committee. The working group is criticized for including the names of people who were not proposed by the rank and file, and particularly members of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium "whom the committee in Backa Palanka is seeking to have expelled from the provincial committee."

Mihalj Kertes today rejected the claim heard at yesterday's meeting of the cadre commission of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee that he had allegedly held stances at a meeting with presidents of municipal committees of the Vojvodina LC on 20 July quite different from those he is putting forward today. [passage omitted]

Vojvodina Union Body Officials Offer Resignations

LD0811221688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2106 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Text] Novi Sad, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—Stevo Grubjesic, president of the Vojvodina Trade Union Federation Council Presidium, and three members of the Presidium—Pal Benak, Sava Nikolic, and Kornel Troca—tendered their resignations at this evening's Presidium meeting. Members of the Vojvodina Trade Union Federation Council will make statements about the resignations at a session scheduled for 16 November.

It was also proposed that because of the complex political situation, members of the council should also make statements about individual confidence in all members of the Presidium—as well as about relieving members of their duties—in keeping with the objections and demands in municipal trade union councils on members of the Vojvodina Trade Union Federation Council whose work has been assessed as negative.

This evening's Presidium meeting also summed up the public debate on the draft amendments to their SR of Serbia Constitution. It was said that Vojvodina's associated labor has supported unreservedly the amendments being offered, and in this way workers have expressed their readiness to accept reform changes which will ensure a more efficient socioeconomic and political system. The constitutional changes are one of the important preconditions for overcoming the general crisis in our society, and this is why they must be approved within the time periods envisaged. The Vojvodina Trade Union Council stresses its concern over the course of the public debate in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and appeals to the Kosovo Trade Union Federation and the working class to give their full support to the draft amendments to the SR of Serbia Constitution.

Call for Kosovo School Name Changes Condemned

LD0711225388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1639 GMT 7 Nov 88

[Excerpt] Pristina, 7 Nov (TANJUG)—Unless the increasingly frequent and illogical demands for changing the names of schools which bear the names of personalities from the history, traditions, and culture of Albanians is halted, there is a danger that this will grow into a large problem with far-reaching political consequences. These demands represent an attack on the equality and history of Albanians and a campaign for suspending everything which is Albanian in Kosovo.

These warnings and declarations were voiced today at a "roundtable" in the editorial offices of SKENDI, a Kosovo educational workers' paper. The aim of this meeting, the paper's editor Becir Berisa pointed out, was to "call a halt" to the increasingly frequent demands for changes to be made to the names of schools bearing the names of personalities from Albanian history and tradition. Other similar warnings and observations were also voiced at this meeting. Kajtaz Reza said that this is a type of campaign caused by the fact that "someone is bothered by the equality of the Albanians in Yugoslavia." Meanwhile, Dr Hakif Bajrami, director of the Kosovo Archives Center, nevertheless claimed that "someone persistently wants to portray the Albanians in Yugoslavia as guests in this common homeland." [passage omitted]

Montenegrin Internal Affairs Secretariat Statement

LD0811203988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1141 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Text] Titograd, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—Today, the Montenegrin Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs officially informed the public of the reasons which subsequently led the organs of this service to invite some of the participants in the October protest meetings in Titograd and Niksic, to fact-finding talks.

As we know, these invitations provoked a particular revolt among the steel workers of the Radoje Dakic industrial construction plant, the largest metal-processing work organization in Titograd. The workers expressed their disagreement with such police actions by staging a 3-hour strike in the locksmith section last Thursday [3 November] and demanded an official statement on the justification for taking some members of the collective to the premises of the municipal Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

Today's official statement by the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs stresses that by breaking the law, individuals misused the meetihgs in Titograd and Niksic; that a certain number of them have already been punished; and that material evidence is being collected in order to bring possible criminal charges against others. A final decision about this will be made by the judicial organs.

To this effect and in line with the Public Law and Order Law, these individuals are being invited to fact-finding talks with full respect for the established legal procedures, the statement stresses. All the suspected individuals received written summons at their home addresses, although the service is authorized to send summons to other addresses also. There was not even one case of people being taken away from their places of work or of arrests or detention. After a fact-finding talk and the examination of facts and the circumstances which confirmed the justified suspicion of unlawful conduct, a certain number of individuals were handed over to the relevant magistrate's court with a request to set proceedings in motion. No one was taken before the investigative judge.

Therefore, the statement continues, reports by some sections of the media accusing the police of taking the workers to the Secretariat for Internal Affairs in a "Black Maria" in order to obtain confessions about their behavior at the rallies and, also, the allegations about questionings at night and the harrassment of the suspects' families, are malicious, incorrect, and fabricated.

This kind of reporting and other means of propaganda are obviously aimed at discreding the internal affairs organs and at obstructing them in carrying out their role, in the political system of socialist self-management as defined by the Constitution, the law, and other regulations, it is stated at the conclusion of the statement by the Montenegro Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Views Presidency Candidates

LD0411100988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1428 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 3 Nov (TANJUG)—The list of candidates for the three members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency cannot and should not include people who have been named or are in any way connected with the Neum affair. Before the final approval of the proposed candidates for these positions is given, it is essential to clarify all the dilemmas and misunderstandings connected with individual cadres.

This was concluded at today's session of the Socialist Alliance Republican Conference Presidium, which considered a report on the list of candidates for the election of three members of the Presidency of this republic and of the republican secretary for internal affairs. It did not approve the proposal of possible candidates for these functions as was expected.

The Presidium concluded that the adoption of the proposal should take place at the next session and that in the meantime people who have asked not to be candidates should be removed from the proposed list of 41 candidates for the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency. It was also concluded that those who are in top positions in the republic should not be candidates, nor those who are shortly to retire or who have fulfilled the conditions for doing so. [passage omitted]

At today's session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina SAWP Republican Conference Presidium, consideration was also given to the list of candidates for the position of republican secretary of internal affairs. Possible candidates are Mehmed Bajric, Huseim Bakalovic, Muhamed Besic, Sead Hodzic, Izet Mehinagic, Resid Music, and Amir Salinhagic.